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ASPECTS OF KASHMIRI LINGUISTICS

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Editors

Omkar N. Koul
Peter Edwin Hook

The Book

Aspects of Kashmiri Linguistics is a collection of papers on different aspects of Kashmiri linguistics contributed by well-known scholars from India and abroad. Papers included in this volume are : Dardistan revisited : 'An examination of the relationship between Kashmiri and Shina' (Omkar N. Koul and Ruth Laila Schmidt); 'Kashmiri and the typology of South Asian Languages' (Boris A. Zakharyin); 'Towards a morphclogical classification of Kashmiri monosyllabic nouns' (C. Shackle); 'Kashmiri : A descriptive sketch' (Ashok R. Kelkar); 'On the grammar of derived transitives and causatives in Kashmiri' (Peter E. Hook and Omkar N. Koul); 'Pronominal suffixes and split ergativity in Kashmiri' (Peter E. Hook and Omkar N. Koul); 'Word Order in Kashmiri : some further evidence' (Karumuri V. Subbarao). 'Some further observations on Kashmiri word order' (Peter E. Hook) and 'Modes of address in Kashmiri' (Omkar N. Koul).

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Edited by
Omkar N. Koul
Peter Edwin Hook

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Preface

Kashmir has long held a fascination for linguists, since at least the time of Patañjali : abhijānāsi, devadatta, kāśmīrān gamiṣyāmaḥ (from his discussion of Vārttika 22 ad 1.1.44). When one considers Kashmiri's rather modest total of three to four million speakers, it is surprising to see how much attention has been lavished on it by outsiders and Kashmiris alike. There is a magnificent four-volume Kashmiri-English dictionary, the joint work of Pandit Ishwar Kaula and George A. Grierson; a Pāniṇian description (in Sanskrit) by Pt. Kaula; a monograph on Kashmiri phonetics by T. Grahame Bailey; a number of monograph length articles on Kashmiri grammar by Grierson in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (based largely on Pandit Kaula's *Kaśmiraśabdamṛtam*) as well as his grammatical sketches in the *Linguistic Survey of India* and his two-volume *Manual* (both works now in reprint). Since Independence there has hardly been less activity with the appearance of grammars, monographs, articles and even textbooks by Kachru, Koul, Zakharyin, Hook, Kelkar and many others.

Indeed, it could be said that Kashmiri has received more attention per capita than any other South Asian language with the possible exception of the speech of those other dwellers in cool and peaceful mountain places, the Todas. But there are reasons for this intensity of interest and devotion of effort, reasons that at first glance seem to have nothing to do with the dreamlike lakes, mountains and gardens, and the moderate climate of the Happy Valley, but that are perhaps indirectly linked to the history and geography of Kashmir as the cross-roads of Asia.

The Kashmiri language is unique among those of the Subcontinent for the variety of directions from which neighbours have influenced it. Owning a Sanskritic basic word stock in common with its Indo-Aryan neighbours to the South, it has a phonetic inventory and a phonology reminiscent of the Altaic North and, quite apart from the Persian Vocabulary and writing system that are part of its Islamic heritage, it has morphological subsystems like the ergative and the pronominal suffix which link it more anciently with Iranian languages to the West. (Its V-2 word-order must be considered an independent development.) Only the Tibeto-Burman East seems not to have had much of a part in the formation of Kashmiri.

The variety of influences on the Kashmiri language is equalled by the variety of controversies in Kashmiri linguistics: its genetic affiliation (Dardic or Indo-Aryan?), its phonetics (What about those mātrā vowels?), its phonemics (How may Kashmiri best be reduced to writing?), its phonology (patterns of vowel harmony, palatalization, velarization, *ceredovanie* of consonants. . .), its morphology (verbs that agree with their nouns in person, gender, number and case), its syntax (Why does Kashmiri read like German?) its semantics (still largely unexplored). Beyond these properly linguistic problems are the sociolinguistic, educational and political ones that are just now beginning to attract the attention of linguists.

It is not for us to judge whether any of the long-standing questions of Kashmiri linguistics has been resolved in the papers that follow. But if interest and further efforts toward their solution are stimulated by this collection, or if new questions are brought to light, then we shall consider our pains well taken and our labours fully paid.

Omkar N. Koul
Peter Edwin Hook

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Dardistan revisited: An examination of the relationship between Kashmiri and Shina

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I
OVERVIEW

All previous descriptions of the relationship between Shina and Kashmiri have presented these languages within the framework of the "Dardic" or "Pisacha" family of languages. The hypotheses and biases underlying this designation have usually been reflected in the classification of the two languages vis-a-vis each other. In the review which follows, attention is focussed on the historical evolution of the concept of "Dardic languages" as a field of inquiry.

Grierson's Dardic (Pisacha) Languages

The first attempt to compare and comprehensively classify the Northwest Indo-Aryan Languages is Grierson's. Although his classification has been challenged, his identification of the field of inquiry is still accepted with minor modifications.

Grierson designated these languages as "Dardic" and classified them into three major groups.[1]

1. *The Kafir Group* (including Bashgalī, Wai-alā, Wāsi--veri Ashkund, Kalāshā, Gawar-bati, and Pashai);
2. *The Khowar, or Chitrali Group*;
3. *The Dard Group* (including Shinā, Kashmīrī, Kashṭawāṛi, Pogulī, Sirājī, Rāmbanī, and Kōhistānī—the last comprising Gārwi, Torwali and Maiyā̃).

He observed that the term "Dardic" was only a geographical convention: "Following the example of the extended connotation of the word 'Dardistan,' it is convenient to give the general name 'Dardic' to all the Aryan languages spoken in this tract."[2] His own preference was for "Piśacha"—the Pisachas, like the Dards, being peoples mentioned in the Sanskrit texts. Following objections that the word "Pisacha" denotes a cannibal demon, he abandoned the term.

Grierson considered the Dardic languages to be a sub-family of the Aryan languages, "neither of Indian nor of Eranian origin, but (forming) a third branch of the Aryan stock, which separated from the parent stem after the branching forth of the original of the Indian languages, but before the Eranian languages had developed all their peculiar characteristics."[3]

Grierson's adoption of both terms has been criticized but no writer has developed more satisfactory replacements, and the term "Dardic" has gained common acceptance. It will be employed in this paper as a convenient designation for Shina, Kashmiri and some of the Kohistani dialects—while bearing in mind Fussman's warning:

> [Dardic and Kafir languages] is a geographic, not a linguistic expression. Taken literally, it allows one to believe that all the languages spoken in Dardistan are Dardic. Now the Burushaski of Hunza, having no more than a few I-A words borrowed from Shina, is not a Dardic language. Inversely, strictly speaking, the name 'Dardic language' ought not to be applied to [Kashmiri][4].

"Pisacha" he considers even less suitable because:

> It is a unitary appellation which implies that the languages thus denominated form a single and homogeneous linguistic group. But it is now proven. . . . that they are quite diverse languages, in respect to which it is very often not certain whether they have a common origin[5].

Here Fussman identifies the most common error of "Dardic linguists". In the absence of reliable comparative data about Dardic languages, a geographic or ethnographic label is frequently applied to a group of dialects. The dialects designated by this label are subsequently treated as a genetically homogeneous group. We may observe this fallacy at almost every level of classification. To mention one example, the term "Kohistani Shina" has been applied to the Shina dialects spoken in the hill tracts (Kōhistān) of the Indus basin south of Chilas. But the Kohistanis themselves distinguish not one, but no fewer than five separate dialects in the Kohistan region—including one (Patnoch) which in all probability is not Shina at all. "Kohistani" has been employed even more loosely, to refer to non-Shina dialects of the Indus right bank, such as Maiyã, and the upper Swat Valley (Bashkarik and Torwāli).

Another case is "Brokpa", which has been reported for several locations within the area where Western Tibetan is also spoken. However, "Brokpa" is not a linguistic term, but an ethnographic one, referring (insultingly) to Shina speakers who live in Tibetan speaking areas. The linguistic homogeneity of all "Brokpa" dialects has not yet been demonstrated.[6]

Morgenstierne's "Dardic and Kafir Languages"

Morgenstierne (1961) presents a reclassification of these languages, based on decades of research in Afghanistan and what is now Pakistan. He distinguishes between the Dardic and Kafir groups, commenting that the Dardic languages

> . . . .contain absolutely no features which cannot be derived from old IA. They have simply retained a number of striking archaisms, which had already disappeared in most

> Prakrit dialects. . . . There is not a single common feature distinguishing Dardic as a whole, from the rest of the IA languages, and the Dardic area itself is intersected by a network of isoglosses, often of historical interest as indicating ancient lines of communication as well as barriers. Dardic is simply a convenient term to denote a bundle of aberrant IA hill-languages, which in their relative isolation, accented in many cases by the invasion of Pathan tribes, have been in varying degrees sheltered against the expanding influences of IA Midland (Madhyadesha) innovations, being left free to develop on their own.[7]

The situation of the Kafir group according to Morgenstierne is completely different: "Although very heavily overlaid by IA (Dardic) words and forms, these dialects have retained several decidedly un-Indian features". He goes on to posit the existence of a third branch of Indo-Iranian, "agreeing generally with IA, but being situated on the Ir side of some of the isoglosses which, taken as a whole, constitute the borderline between IA and Ir. This branch had also retained archaisms of its own, and must have separated from the others at a very early date."[8] Although the position of the Kafir languages lies outside the scope of this paper, it is worth noting that Morgenstierne has not abandoned Grierson's "third branch of the Aryan stock", but has refined the concept, basing his argument on regular sound correspondences.

The classification of Morgenstierne's Dardic group is presented here in abbreviated form:

Dardic Group[9]

II. (e) Kalāṣā; (f) Khowār;

III. (g) Damēlī (h) Gawar-Bātī; (i) remnants of dialects similar to Gawar-Bātī;

IV. (j) Pashāī

V. (k) Bashkarīk (Gārwī/Gāwrī; (l) Torwālī (m) Maiyā̃, including Kanyawālī, Dubērī, Cilis, Gowro; (n) Wotapūrī and Kataṛkalāī; (o) Tirāhī;

VI. (p) Ṣiṇā, described as spoken in many dialects in Gilgit, Cilas etc. as far south as Gurez in Kashmir, and Dah

Hanū in Baltistan, formely even beyond Leh; (q) Phalūrā, described as an archaic offshoot of Ṣiṇa; (r) Dumaki, the speech of the Doms in Hunza.

VII. (s) Kashmīrī, with Kashṭawaṛī as a true dialect and other dialects strongly influenced by Dogrī.

The major points on which Morgenstierne's classification differs from Grierson's are (1) his stress on the distinctiveness of the Kafir group, and (2) the heterogeneity of the group labelled "Dardic". There are also points in common, the most important being the general concurrence on the scope of the field of inquiry.

Kachru (1969) and Strand (1973) have reviewed the above classifications, each amplifying them with his own observations regarding certain languages or language groups (Kashmiri in the case of Kachru, and Kafir or Nuristani languages in the case of Strand). Strand presents an up-dated version of Morgenstierne's classification which is not however intended to supersede it.[10] The most important work of recent years is Fussman's, which is also based on that of Morgenstierne. Morgenstierne's classification is accordingly adopted as a valid point of departure for further efforts to distinguish Shina and Kashmiri. A few preliminary remarks may not be out of place, however.

Observations

During the 19th century, scholarly attention was focussed on those Dardic or Kafir languages which lay on routes of European exploration or political expansion: Kashmiri, Shina, Ladakhi and Balti, Burushaski, Khowar. Most of this work was done by British scholars or under British auspices, and was published in English. As a result, these sources—most of which were collected by Grierson—are easily accessible to English speaking scholars today. The data presented in them is usually criticized as inadequate or unreliable, but this fault was inevitable. The "field of inquiry" stretches over five hundred miles from east to west and includes four major mountain ranges: the Pir Panjal, the western Himalaya, the Karkorams, and the Hindu Kush. The population centers in this region are difficult of access today: in Grierson's time the travelling distances can scarcely have been less than those mentioned by Drew or in the 1880 Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh: Jammu to Srinagar : 12 marches; Srinagar to Gilgit: 22 marches.[11] Grierson was often obliged to rely on individuals with little linguistic training. Frederic Drew and Robert Shaw—both important sources of data for Grierson's section on Shina—were respectively, a geologist and a tea planter.

During the 20th century, European scholars began to study languages which had received relatively less attention from the British: the Kafir languages of Nuristan, the languages of the upper Panjkora and upper Swat Rivers; and of the right-bank tributaries of the Indus. European scholars have continued to focus on this region until the present; the creation in 1947 of Pakistan has tended to reinforce what was initially just a geographic specialization. The data gathered by these researchers is considerably more reliable than that available to Grierson, but except for the works of Morgenstierne and Barth, most of it is published in German and French, and is not easily available in either India or Pakistan. This situation has special implications for scholars interested in the eastern section of the Dardic region (Shina, Kashmiri, and related languages):

1. It is extremely difficult to bring the considerable bibliographic resouces to bear on the question of the classification of these languages. In this paper we shall attempt to take account of all major publications dealing with the subject; but we have been handicapped by the many languages in which they are published (English, French, German, Russian, Urdu, Kashmiri and Shina); and by the fact that many works are long out of print, or reprinted in editions not available in India.

2. The best available classification of the languages, that of Morgenstierne, is relatively sketchy so far as Shina and Kashmiri are concerned. As a consequence, so are the works which rely on Morgenstierne's research. Fussman's *Atlas Linguistique des Parlers Dardes et Kafirs* provides almost no data for the Shina of Dras, none for the Brokskat (Brokpa) dialects of Shina, and virtually no data for any dialect of Kashmiri except that spoken in Srinagar. Nor, to date, has anyone integrated the work done by European scholars with that done in India (notably at the Central Institute of Indian Languages).

Scope of the Paper

This paper presents certain preliminary data from two months' research in Kashmir, and focusses on Shina and Kashmiri.[12] As mentioned, Morgenstierne's classification has served as a basis for selecting the dialects to be included in the study. We recognize the difficulties inherent in the adoption of any *a priori* notion of the distribution of either language—while the dialects of Shina group neatly and are easily distinguished from Kashmiri, some other dialects, such as Poguli and Siraji appear to be transitional in nature. Siraji in particular shares features not only with Kashmiri but with Shina and the Pahari dialects. It is by no means easy to assign it to a particular group of languages, and it may well be that the attempt to do so obscures the usefulness of an alternative approach: the possible existence of what Jettmar terms a "koine", a cultural and religious continuum of mountain tribes which existed prior to the migration of the Indo-Aryans into the region and the emergence of identifiable cultural groups and languages.[13] The nature of such a koiné, and of its accompanying linguistic substratum, would be very difficult to determine. From a theoretical standpoint, however, the concept is not less satisfactory than the arbitrary assignment of languages to groups simply in order to achieve a tidy classification.

In our effort to define the relationships among the dialects of Shina and Kashmiri, we have taken account of features mentioned by various scholars (including Grierson, Morgenstierne, Kachru, Fussman, Sharma and others) as characterizing Dardic speeches. These include:

A. *Phonological Features*

1. Shortening, with or without devoicing, of word-final vowels (-V̆, -V̥). A companion feature consists in palatalization of word or syllable-final consonants. (At a phonological level, the two are not always easy to distinguish: and historically, at least some instances of palatalization appear to result from shortening and loss of final front vowels.)

2. Assimilation of vowels across syllable boundaries (also known as "epenthetic vowel change"). A companion feature is the development of unrounded back vowels [ɯ ŏ] and

centralized vowels [ə *i*]. The well-known Kashmiri "inaudible vowels" or "matra vowels" would seem to result from the operation simultaneously of features (1) and (2).

3. Retention of OIA consonant clusters. In our analysis we have dealt separately with initial clusters and final clusters.

4. Distinction between three sibilants (s, š and ṣ).

5. Loss of aspiration of voiced stops.

6. Development of contrastive tones.

B. *Morphological Features*

7. Pronoun systems characterized by the following semantic distinctions (in at least three-term sets): plus or minus near, and plus or minus visible.

8. Nominal systems characterized by case markers in an inflectional system of more than binary complexity (as opposed to the usual nominative: oblique opposition of noun case markers in other Indian languages). A companion feature consists in the occurrence of agent case markers ("ergative").

9. Postpositions of the Dardic type[14] occurring in combination with the case markers mentioned in (8).

C. *Syntactic Features*

10. Occurrence of SVO or SOV word order in sentences.

11. Agreement in past tense transitive sentences between subject and verb (as opposed to agreement between object and verb).

D. *Vocabulary*

12. Percentage of shared core vocabulary items in a basic word list of 126 items, selected from the 167 items in Fussman's *Atlas*.

The following eight dialects, four of Shina and four usually classified as dialects of Kashmiri, were analyzed with respect to the thirteen features enumerated above:

1. *Shina*: Gilgiti, Kohistyõ (of Jalkot in Indus Kohistan), Shina of the Tilel and Gures Valleys,[15] and Shina of Dras.

2. *Kashmiri*: Kashmiri of Srinagar, Kashtawari, Poguli, and Siraji.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of the dialects which may be brought into consideration in attempting a classification, but hopefully it is sufficient to test the validity of the comparative procedures and the value of the "Dardic features" in grouping and separating the various dialects.

In the following pages we summarize the main points regarding the distribution of Kashmiri and Shina, as it has been presented in the literature concerning these languages.

II

DISTRIBUTION OF KASHMIRI AND SHINA

A. **Kashmiri** (*by Omkar N. Koul*)

The Kashmiri language is called *kə:śur* or *kə:śir zaba:n* by its speakers. It is called Kashmiri in other languages. According to the 1971 Census there are 2,438,360 native speakers of the language which is primarily spoken in the Kashmir Valley of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

There has been no serious linguistically oriented dialect research on Kashmiri until now. There are two main types of dialects: regional dialects and social dialects. The social dialects, which have been identified as Sanskritized Kashmiri and Persianized Kashmiri (by Kachru 1969) show interesting variations in phonology, morphology and vocabulary; and deserve further study. The subject lies outside the scope of the paper however.

Regional dialects are also of two types: those dialects (or more properly variations of a single major dialect) which are spoken within the Valley, and those spoken outside it. The Kashmir Valley itself is ethnosemantically divided into three regions: (1) *mara:z* (southern and south-eastern region), (2) *kamra:z* (northern and north-western region) and (3) Srinagar and its environs. These three dialects show some phonological, morphological and lexical differences. The Srinagar dialect enjoys the prestige of being the standard variety used in the mass media and in literature.

The major characteristics of the dialect variation within the Valley are:

1. The Kashmiri spoken in *mara:z* retains the flap/ṛ/, which is replaced by /r/ in *kamra:z* and Srinagar.

2. The progressive or indefinite aspect marker *-an* is suffixed to verb roots in *mara:z* Kashmiri; the Kashmiri of *kamra:z* and Srinagar shows lengthening of the vowel: *a:n*.

3. The Kashmiri of *kamra:z* shows peculiarities of intonation and stress which are not found in *mara:z* and Srinagar. These have not received serious linguistic attention.

4. According to Tak Zainagiri (1967), there are differences in vocabulary, a number of which are listed by him.

None of the above variations are very significant, and the Kashmiri spoken in all three regions is not only mutually intelligible but quite homogeneous; the variations may be more correctly termed "styles" of the same speech. In fact, since the Srinagar dialect has gained social prestige, there is frequent "style switching" from *mara:zi* or *kamra:zi* to the Srinagar dialect. This phenomenon is more common among educated Kashmiri speakers.

Surveys of Kashmiri and its dialects (including Grierson 1919, Kachru 1969 and the Census 1961, 1971) report the following regional dialects of Kashmiri spoken outside the valley: Kashtawāṛi, Poguli, Siraji, Rambani and Kohistani. The status of each of these is examined on a point by point basis as follows.

1. *Siraji and Rambani*

These two dialects are closely related to each other and also share features with Dogri and Pahari. But—as hopefully will by demonstrated in this paper—they share few of the typically Kashmiri features. They do share some features, such as the semantic dimensions of the pronominal system, some morphology, and a substantial portion of their vocabulary (mostly borrowed from common sources) with Kashmiri.

Grierson describes their position very well: "Rambani can very fairly be described as a mixture of Siraji and Dogri. It still possesses enough Kashmiri peculiarities to entitle it to be classed as a dialect of that language . . . . it must nevertheless be considered as a broken form of speech, partly Dogri and partly Kashmiri, and it might with almost equal correctness be classed under either group of languages."[16]

Grierson terms Siraji as a "mixed language".[17] Though it shares some features with Kashmiri, its phonological, morphological and syntactic systems on the whole do not pattern along the lines of Kashmiri. According to Grierson, "[Siraji] might with almost equal correctness, be classed as a dialect of Kashmiri or as a dialect of Western Pahāṛī, but I have put it in the former class, because it possesses certain typical Dardic characteristics which do not belong to the latter, such as the occasional use of vocalic epenthesis, the hardening of *d* to *t*, the retention of medial *t*, the diaspiration of sonant aspirates, the dropping of initial r, and the general method of verbal conjugation including the free use of pronominal suffixes."[18] The relationship of Siraji with Western Pahari and Dogri would be an interesting subject for dialect study. But so far as its relationship with Kashmiri is concerned, the connection is neither apparent nor easy to analyze.

2. *Kohistani*

As mentioned above, this term has no precise linguistic significance. It probably refers to languages of the Shina group. It is certainly not recognized by any authority as a dialect of Kashmiri.

3. *Poguli*

Along with Kashtawari, this is probably one of the few regional dialects of Kashmiri spoken outside the Valley. It is spoken in the Pogul and Paristan Valleys, bordered on the east by Kashtawari, on the south by Rambani and Siraji, and on the west by mixed dialects of Lahnda (Hindko) and Pahari. The speakers of Poguli are found mainly to the south, south-east and south-west of Banihal. The native speakers number about 20,000 (Banihali 1977).[19]

Three regional dialects are mentioned: (1) that of Pogul proper and Maligam; (2) the dialect of Nilkhas and Khirdish Trigam, and (3) that of Senabati and Ramban. The last is heavily influenced by Rambani and/or Siraji. The Trigam dialect has approximated to Kashmiri. Literate Poguli speakers of both the Pogul and Paristan Valleys are bilingual in Poguli and Kashmiri.

Poguli shares many linguistic features with Kashmiri, as will be demonstrated below. A few deserve special attention:

a. Sanskrit *ś* is retained in Poguli as [š]. In Kashmiri this sound becomes h.

b. Kashmiri [r] = Poguli [ṛ]. This Poguli patterns similarly to *maraːz* Kashmiri.

c. Aspiration of voiced stops is retained. This is true of both *tatsamas* and *tadbhavas*. However, lexical items borrowed into Kashmiri, containing aspirated voiced stops, lose their aspiration.

These and other features of Poguli deserve attention as possible isoglosses within the linguistic region.

4. *Kashtawari*

Kashtawari is spoken in the Kashtawar Valley, lying to the south-east of Kashmir. It is bordered on the south by Bhadarwahi (a dialect closely related to Western Pahari) on the west by Chibhali and Punchi (related to Lahnda), and on the east by the Tibetan-speaking region of Zanskar. Thus all these languages have influenced it. According to Grierson Kashtwawari is the "one true dialect" of Kashmiri.[20] It shares most linguistic features of Standard Kashmiri, but retains some archaic features which have disappeared from the latter. Kashtawari is traditionally written in the Takri script. Currently the Perso-Arabic script (officially employed for Kashmiri) is used as well.

B. **Shina** (*by Ruth L. Schmidt*)

Most writers have distinguished six or more dialects of Shina. Bailey's classification is taken here as a point of departure:

> The language is remarkably homogeneous over its whole area and the speakers from the Indus Valley will readily understand those from Drās or the Kishenganga. We may divide Ṣiṇā into three dialects—Gilgitī, Astorī, and Kohistānī. If we desired to take note of more minute variations,

we might subdivide Astorī into Astorī, Guresī and Drāsī, and Kohistani into Cilāsī and Kohistānī. . . .

The Ṣiṇā-speaking people of the Drās Valley belong to the Brokpa caste. This name Brokpa has been given to a dialect of Ṣiṇā widely different from any of the above, found in some villages on the east of Kargil. So different is this dialect that it is not intelligible to speakers of Ṣiṇā proper.[21]

Grierson has mentioned seven dialects: Gilgiti, Astori, Chilasi, Gurezi, Brokpa of Dras and Dah Hanu, and a "North-Western Dialect, without a name". Fussman supplies data for nine dialects: Chilasi, Drasi, Gilgiti, Guresi, Jijeluti, Kohistani, Shina of Kōlēi, Shina of Palas, and Shina of Tangir. In its effort to provide mother-tongue textbooks to all the school children of Kashmir, the Central Institute of Indian Languages found it necessary to gather data for two: Drasi Shina, and Brokskat (of Garkhon and the surrounding area).[22]

A synthesis of these reports follows. I am currently aware of the following dialects of Shina, without assuming the list to be exhaustive.

1. *Gilgiti*

It is the best known of the Shina dialects, and the only one with a standardizing influence It possesses a body of oral literature, some of which is now being collected and written down, and is used by Radio Pakistan in its Shina language broadcasts. Most of the Shina dialects found along the Gilgit River may be grouped with the Gilgiti dialect, except for that of Yasin, which according to Namus has been influenced by Burushaski. The Shina spoken in Hunza and Nagir, from the scanty data available, also seems to belong to the Gilgiti dialect except for some phonological convergence with Burushaski (including a greater emphasis on the tones). The best published account is still that of Bailey. There is also discussion of Shinā in Urdu by Namus, *Gilgit Aur Shinā Zabān*. Buddruss has completed a new study of the language, as yet unpublished. I am aware of only two books which contain Gilgit Sinā in written form.[23]

2. *Astori*

The Astor River flows northward from the Pangi Range and joints the Gilgit. This is the old route from Srinagar to Gilgit via Astor and Bunji. There is no satisfactory account of Astori Shina: Biddulph groups it with the Shina dialects spoken in Skardu and Rondu (Baltistan).[24] Bailey groups it with Guresi and Drasi.

3. *Chilasi*

Chilas lies below Nanga Parbat on the westward swing of the Indus River. Part of Bailey's data for "Kohistani Shina" was taken from Chilas, and part from the village of Jalkot, to the south of Chilas. The people of Jalkot and Palas have a tradition that their ancestors came from Chilas, which dialect is more easily understood by them than that of Gilgit. This testifies to the existence of a linguistic boundary just north of Chilas. The carrier language also changes here: to the north of Chilas it is Urdu; south of Chilas it is Pashto. A single book in Chilasi Shina has come to light: a religious tract published by a pir for his followers.[25]

4. *Kohistyõ and Related Dialects*

Kohistyõ is spoken in Palas and Jalkot, on the left bank of the Indus River. The speakers report about 70% intelligibility with the Gilgiti dialect. However, Kohistyõ speakers themselves consider all the Shina dialects north of Seo (slightly upriver from Jalkot) to be a separate language, which they term Sunkyo. Kolichyo, in the next valley south of Palas on the left bank, is very similar to Kohistyõ: Patnoch, right across the river, is divergent. The river forms a linguistic boundary in this region and the dialects on the right bank may belong to the "Kohistani" groupings along with the Dardic dialects spoken in the upper Swat River Valley. The phonological system of Kohistyõ has been described by Schmidt and Zarin.[26]

5. *Guresi*

This is spoken in the Gures and Tilel Valleys, drained by the Kishenganga River. Bailey seems to suggest that it is also spoken in the Burzil Valley. No more recent description than

Bailey's exists. Data from our own research indicate that the Shina of the Tilel Valley is more archaic than that of Gures. If Bailey's classification is correct, an account of Guresi may provide some clues to Astori.

6. *Drasi*

Spoken by Shina speakers in a mixed population of Shina, Purki (Balti) and Kashmiri speakers in the Dras Valley. It has been studied by Rajpurohit, but as of this writing his findings are not yet available. Rajpurohit reports that the Drasi dialect is separated from the Guresi dialect by the Haramukh mountain range and that mutual intelligibility between the two dialects as reported by Drasi speakers, was only about 60%.[27] While we have not had an opportunity to assess this statement, the data provided by our own research shows some striking agreements between the Drasi and the Gilgiti dialects, which may not be accounted for by geographical contiguity. This may lend support to the Drasis' claim that their ancestors migrated from Gilgit.

7. *Brokskat*

This has been reported as "Brokpa" for a wide range of locations: east of Kargil (Bailey): Dras (Grierson); Central Ladakh (Ramaswami); and Dah-Hanu, on the border of Baltistan (Grierson and Jettmar). Ramaswami has studied the Brokskat of Garkhon in Ladakh; his *Brokskat Phonetic Reader* is a useful account of the phonology (though the dialect studied by Ramaswami does not seem to show the back-unrounded vowel series which appeared in our data). Ramaswami's *Brokskat Grammar* is also available in print.

III

THE DATA

The Indian survey data was obtained from recorded samples of Guresi, Tileli, Drasi, Poguli, Kashtawari and Siraji, using the following instruments:

1. A word list of 280 items, compiled from the Swadesh 200-Word List, the items contained in Fussman's *Atlas*, and certain additional items;

2. 57 sentences, designed to elicit important lexical, grammatical and syntactic features.[28]

The 280 words and 57 sentences were obtained in all the dialects mentioned except for Tileli (for which only the word list was obtained). The instruments were provided to the speakers in English, Urdu or Kashmiri. Certain difficulties were experienced in cases where speakers were not educated. Abstract concepts, such as the adjective 'full' were not easy to explain. The infinitive as a citation form was relatively less known and had to be explained. Many speakers insisted that the dynamic qualities of their language were not reflected by arbitrary lists of single lexemes. They preferred to use the words in sentences, or better yet, discourse. A typical response to a request for a single word was a whole sentence:

akhrot: *bilu acho*:, 'akrot means acho (walnut)'

Under these conditions, exploration for sophisticated syntactic variables was impossible. We were unable to test for the occurrence of pronominalization (deletion of pronouns accompanied by occurrence of pronominal suffixes), as the operation of deletion rules could not easily be checked. The semantic dimensions of past tense systems could not be investigated in depth, so we do not know whether these dialects share the three term system of Kashmiri (simple past, near past and remote past). The morphological and syntactic data are, as yet, restricted to that elicited in the 57 sentences. The phonological data on the other hand is relatively complete.

The data for Gilgiti Shina were obtained from Bailey's Shina grammar, supplemented by data kindly provided in the form of personal communications from Dr. Georg Buddruss. The data for Kohistyõ are mainly taken from Bailey but have been elucidated by Mohammad Zarin.

Features common to both Kashmiri and Shina

Certain features were found to be common to all or nearly all the languages studied. These are:

1. Assimilation of vowels across syllable boundaries (sensitive vowel system or vocalic epenthesis). This occurs in all the dialects. However, the examples of vowel assimilation in Siraji Drasi and Gilgiti were fairly scanty. The companion feature,

evolution of unrounded back vowels, also occurs in every dialect except Gilgiti.

2. Retention of OIA consonant clusters -*Cr*. in the initial position characterizes all the dialects except Kohistyõ. Examples: Gil. *kramo:n* 'farmer'; *prī:zu* 'flea'; Til, *drisṭ* 'handspan', Pog. bræ:ṛ 'cat', Kash. *tre* 'three'. It is a marginal feature in the Shina dialects.

3. Loss of aspiration of voiced stops characterizes Kashmiri, Kashtawari and all the Shina dialects except Kohistyõ in which it occurs as a marginal feature. Poguli and Siraji retain the voiced aspirates even in *tadbhavas*.

4. All the languages possess pronoun systems distinguishing the dimensions, plus or minus near, and plus or minus visible. In Siraji, Poguli, Kashtawari and Kashmiri these oppositions are contained in three term sets (Kashmiri *yi*, "this, he, it'; *hu*, 'that, he, it' and *su*, 'that, he, it [invisible]'). In the Shina dialects the sets contain four or more terms. Kohistyõ has a two term set of personal pronouns showing plus or minus near, and an eight term set of demonstrative pronouns showing four degrees of distance distinction and plus or minus visible.

5. The nominal systems of all the languages show well developed inflectional systems, including markers for the agent case. However agreement in past tense transitive sentences is invariably between the semantic subject and the verb, not between the object and the verb.

6. All the languages possess postpositions of the Dardic type as described above. These postpositions are added to inflected nouns.

Features separating Kashmiri and Shina

The following features are considered to distinguish between Kashmiri and Shina.

1. Palatalization of consonants occurs in Siraji, Poguli, Kashmiri and Kashtawari (though in the last it does not seem to have a high functional load; Kashtawari also shows shortening of final vowels). It does not occur in any Shina dialect: instead, Shina (excepting Drasi) has shortening of word-final vowels). In some Shina dialects, the sequence *Cī* may be analysed as palatalization, but only in word-final position.

2. Kashmiri, Poguli and Kashtawari have developed both centralized vowels [ə *i*] and unrounded back vowels [ɯ, ŏ]. No Shina dialect has developed the centralized vowel series.

3. Retention of the OIA cluster—*ṣṭ* in final (as opposed to medial) position occurs only in Shina (Drasi and Tileli). Ex.: Dra., Til. *ãṣṭ*, 'eight'; Til. *driṣṭ*, 'handspan. As with initial *Cr-*, final *-ṣṭ* is comparatively marginal in Shina. Medial *ṣṭ*, *sk*, *rC* are fairly common in Shina. Shina *ṣ* corresponds to Poguli *h*, and Poguli shows the clusters -hC- and -hC: *krihnu*, 'black'; *a:hṭ*. These clusters are not preserved in Kashmiri or Kashtawari.

4. All the Shina dialects preserve the ancient three way contrast among sibilants. Kashmiri, Poguli, Siraji and Kashtawari have lost this feature.

5. The development of contrastive tones is peculiar to Shina and occurs in Gilgiti, Kohistyõ and Guresi/Tileli. The origin of this feature does not appear to be linked with loss of voiced aspirates as is the case in Punjabi, however.

6. SVO word order occurs only in Kashmiri and Kashtawari. The authors have heard a variety of Poguli showing SVO word order, but the sample taken in the survey (from the speech of a school teacher of Pogul) shows SOV word order.

Features distinguishing among dialects assigned to the same language

1. As mentioned, Siraji and Poguli are differentiated from Kashmiri and Kashtawari by the occurrence of voiced aspirates. Kashtwari is differentiated from the other dialects by the lower functional load on palatalization.

2. The Shina dialects of India have retained some initial consonant clusters as has Gilgiti. Kohistyõ has lost this distinction.

3. Drasi shows a number of similarities to Gilgiti on the morphological level. The pronoun systems are nearly identical. The verb suffixes show the masculine/feminine distinction throughout the verb paradigm in both dialects. This distinction has been maintained in Kohistyõ and Tileli only in the past tenses and the auxiliary (however Kohistyõ retains the masculine/feminine distinction in the third person only throughout the paradigm).

Shared Vocabulary[29]

The results of the core vocabulary count fill out the patterns established by the distribution of phonological, morphological and syntactic features. Gilgiti Shina shares 80% of its vocabulary with Kohistyõ, 81% with Tileli, and 85% with Drasi. This plus the features mentioned in the previous paragraph lends support to the Drasis' claim to a Gilgiti origin. The vocabulary shared by the Shina dialects consists almost entirely of words having identical derivations. (For purposes of this paper, words having the same derivation, such as Shina *aka:e* Kashmiri *ka:h*, 'eleven' are distinguished from those which are cognate but show a different phonetic evolution—like Siraji *ya:rā̃:*, 'eleven'.)

Kashmiri shares 50% of its vocabulary with Gilgiti Shina (mostly first-order cognates). It shares 63% with Siraji, of which 29% consists of second order cognates but show a divergent phonetic evolution. It shares 70% with Poguli, mostly words of the same derivation, and 80% with Kashtawari.

We made one count of the vocabulary shared by Shina (Gilgiti) and a transitional dialect, Siraji. It showed only 47% of words in common, half of which are second order cognates of the sort that both Siraji and Shina share with other Indo-Aryan languages.

The vocabulary count tends to group the Shina dialects on the one hand, and Kashmiri, Kashtawari and Poguli on the other. It supports the conclusions of Bailey, Grierson and others that, whereas the Shina language shows remarkable homogeneity throughout its linguistic area, the dialects classed with Kashmiri do not show homogeneity. In fact, probably only Poguli and Kashtawari can be considered true dialects of Kashmiri. Siraji, as Grierson noted, is hard to classify. It would be useful to campare it with Western Pahari—a task that lies outside the scope of this paper.

Conclusions

Shina and Kashmiri share approximately 50% of their vocabulary along with other phonological and morphological features which have traditionally been considered "Dardic". On an equal number of other points, they may be clearly differentiated from each other. The most noteworthy differences are phonological: the emergence of tone systems in Shina, the development of palatalization in Kashmiri, and the preservation of the three-way contrast among sibilants in Shina are among these. The other most striking difference is the occurrence of SVO word order, which is peculiar to Kashmiri and Kashtawari and no other language in the region.

There are relatively few features which differentiate among the Shina dialects, which on the whole are very homogeneous. The similarities between Gilgiti and Drasi are more impressive in view of the greater geographical distance between these dialects. Kohistyõ of the four dialects, has been most heavily influenced by a non-Shina language (Pashto). However, we have not so far discovered any dialects which could properly be called transitional.

Kashmiri does not show the homogeneity of Shina, unless grouping is interpretted to consist only of Kashmiri and Kashtawari. Another way of describing this phenomenon would be to say that there has been more convergence between languages spoken in the vicinity of the Valley with Kashmiri, than there has been between Shina and its neighbours.

Siraji cannot be considered a dialect of Kashmiri in the strict sense. Unless it can be classed along with Western Pahari, it must be considered a creole.

The phonological and morphological points of agreement between Shina and Kashmiri do not, for the most part, characterize Pahari or the languages of the plains. It is true that voiced aspirates have also been lost in Punjabi, but in that language the voicing of the stop is lost as well. In Kashmiri and Shina the voicing is retained. The occurrence of postpositions is a typically Indo-Aryan feature, of course: but in Shina and Kashmiri their phonetic shape and syntactic patterning is more archaic than that found in other Indo-Aryan languages.

Thus, to the extent that these features are peculiar to the Dardic languages, they may be considered to define them, not merely in terms of their geographical distribution, but as a linguistic grouping. The shared core vocabulary would be another definitive feature of the Dardic group. Debate by scholars on the status of these features would in our view be welcome, as it may eventually permit a consensus on whether "there is [any] single common feature distinguishing Dardic, as a whole, from the rest of the IA languages".[30]

APPENDIX

Words Included in the Vocabulary Count

The following is a list of words included in the vocabulary count. All of them are to be found in Fussman's *Atlas* (except that in his work, 'sleep' is listed as a noun, not a verb). Some of the words are complements of one another (liver/kidney, wasp/bumblebee etc.).

armpit
beard
belly
blood
bone
brain
ear
elbow
eye
face
finger
fingernail
flesh
foot
hand
head
heart
kidney
lip
liver
moustache
mouth
shoulder
thumb
tongue
urine
brother
daughter
grand-daughter
grand-son
sister
son
arrow
ashes
bed
dream
fire
grease
handspan
house
irrigation channel
roof
salt
sickle
smoke
village
work
lightning
moon
rain
sky
snow
cloud
water
wind
day
day after tomorrow
night
spring (season)
summer
today
year
winter
earthquake
mountain
river
sand
spring (of water)
stone
ant
ass (donkey)
bear (animal)
bumblebee
cat (f.)
cock (rooster)
crow
dog

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egg
flea
louse (small)
louse (big)
horse
tail
fig (fruit)
grape
grass (fodder)
mulberry (tree)
pomegranate
to beat
to eat
to give
to go
to harvest
to hear
to kill
to laugh
to see
to sit
to sleep
to wash
bitter
black
blind (person)
eight
eleven
four
fourteen
hungry
red
sharp
six
sixteen
sour
twelve
twenty
twenty-nine
white

NOTES

1 Grierson 1919, p. 2, also Table of Contents.

2 Grierson 1919, p. 1. The Dards are mentioned not only in the Sanskrit texts, where they are called *Darada* or *Darda*, but by other classical writers (Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny). "Dardistan however is the invention of the redoubtable G.W. Leitner. Despite their value, Leitner's works are so inaccessible that no reference is made to them here. The reader is referred to Keay 1979, pp. 11-40 for an account of Leitner's career, 1866-1890.

3 Grierson 1906, p. 4.

4 Fussman 1972, p. 11. Fussman himself employs the term, "Dardic and Kafir languages".

5 Fussman 1972, p. 12.

6 The reader is referred to Ramaswami 1975 for a statement of the position of Brokskat, the dialect of Brokpa which has received careful study in India.

7 Morgenstierne 1961, p. 138.

8 Morgenstierne 1961, p. 139. The transcription employed is Morgenstierne's.

9 Group I includes all the Kafir languages.

10 Strand 1973, p. 302. Strand's classification is more useful for Nuristani (Kafir) languages than for Dardic ones, especially where Shina and Kashmiri are concerned.

11 Drew 1875, pp. 524-529; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, pp. 875-1078.

12 Research undertaken under the auspices of a Social Science Research Council (New York) grant. Actual data collection was carried out by Vijay Kumar Kaul. The research reported on in this paper consisted of a survey of the major dialects of Shina spoken in India, plus Rambani, Poguli and Siraji.

13 Jettmar 1961, pp. 69-71.

14 Mentioned by Sharma 1980 as *sit* (*sita*, *sati* etc.) and *maj* (*majha*, *maje* etc). The particle *gi*, *ga* is another item commonly mentioned in this category.

15 The Shina of the Gures and Tilel Valleys is reported to be identical (by Bailey and by its own speakers). Preliminary data do suggest that Tileli Shina retains more archaic features, at least in the phonological system.

16 Grierson 1919, p. 458.

17 Grierson 1919, p. 433.

18 Grierson 1919, p. 433.

19 Banihali 1977, p. 38.

20 Grierson 1919, p. 233.

21 Bailey 1924, pp. xiii-xiv.

22 The Census of India 1961 lists two Shina dialects: Brokskat and the Shina of Dras. The Shina speakers of Gures and Tilel do not seem to have been enumerated.

23 The *Gulzar-e-Malang Jan* [The Rose Garden of Malang Jan], by Rahmat Malang Jan (poet of Punial), See Bibliography for details. Also: *Sa'weno*: *'Mo'ge* [words of the wise] in Shina and Urdu, collected and translated by Amin Zia.

24 Biddulph 1880, p. 46.

25 *The Kalam Baba Cilasi* [Discourse of Baba Chilasi], by Ghulam Nasir Chilasi. See Bibliography.

26 Schmidt and Zarin 1981.

27 Rajpurohit 1979.

28 The authors are indebted to Dr. Franklin Southworth for his assistance in designing the sentences.

29 See the Appendix for a list of the items included in the vocabulary count.

30 Morgenstierne 1961, p. 138.

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Kashmiri and the Typology of South Asian Languages

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0.0. While reviewing the different methods and approaches adopted in typological studies of languages it is possible to come to the conclusion that there are at least two trends : (a) one, the more traditional one, grounded on the idea of rather separate levels and strata inside a language's system and dealing mostly with the organization and formal properties of the basic units of the language (we may call this kind of approach a "differentiative" one); (b) a more recent one, based on a concept of language wholeness and unity, and dealing with the semantically oriented interlevel ("dominant") characteristics of a language's system (this may be called an "integrative" approach). The first trend may be exemplified by the old (but still reliable) formal typology of E. Sapir (1921), J.H. Greenberg (1960), C.E. Bazell (1949) and others. The second approach, a "contensive" one may be illustrated by the works of G.A. Klimov (1973, 1976), S.K. Katsnel'son (1972) and others. It should be remarked that the so called "contensive typology" (in the USSR associated primarily with the works of G.A. Klimov) is only one (though, perhaps, the most explicitly formulated and quickly developing) direction of studies within "integrative typology". The term "contensive" adopted (after S.D. Katsnel'son) for this branch of typological studies is not completely successful as this typology is opposed to that of Sapir and Greenberg not through dichotomy "content-form" (this is only partially so) but through that of "part-whole"; that is why the term "dominant-oriented typology" would be more exact and suitable. It seems grounds are also absent for any kind of speculations about the dichotomy "deep-surface" even though the authors themselves of the theories in question did their bit in complicating the problem (for example, contrary to J.H. Greenberg's stress on the "textual" as exposed to the "systems" character of his quantitative typology" the analysis itself, as is well known, demands a good knowledge of systems proper, and the indexes, though ostensibly based on textual data, say a lot not about the text but about the language system). Both these approaches appear to be in a kind of a complementary distribution differing mostly in emphasis: while "formal typology" is evidently morphology-oriented, "word-and-morpheme" typology is oriented more towards syntax and (to some extent) semantics and deals primarily with sentence structure.

0.1. Genealogically Kashmiri belongs to the Eastern or "Dardic proper" group of the Dardic sub-branch of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo European language family (Edelman 1966, Zakharyin 1971). This classification is predominant among linguists now though some of them following the ideas of G. Morgenstierne and J. Bloch prefer to view the Eastern Dardic languages together with the Indo-Aryan languages of Western India and the adjoining regions of Pakistan. Even in this case Kashmiri, Shina and other representatives of Dardic-proper are to be viewed as forming a separate (sub-group) inside Indo-Aryan. Neither of the founders of the two most known and used genealogical classifications of Indo-Aryan; G.A. Grierson (1927) and S.K. Chatterji (1926), placed Kashmiri and the other Eastern Dardic languages together with the Indo-Aryan languages but considered them to be part of Dardic as a separate sub-branch within Indo-Iranian. Attention should also be paid to the fact that both these linguists agreed in giving a special status to the Pahari languages inside Indo-Aryan and in remarking the supposed Dardic substratum in all the Pahari languages.

After world War II not much of Kashmiri (and other Dardic) language data was used by comparativists in their Indo-European studies and actually no progress was made in the classification of Eastern Dardic. Thus the genealogical attribution of Kashmiri still remains a subject for further investigation and discussion though the more we learn about the whole set of the Dardic languages (for example, the Kafir languages of Afghanistan (Edelman 1966, Zakharyin 1971) the more evident it becomes that G.A. Grierson might have been wrong to separate Kashmiri from the Indo-Aryan language stock, and that perhaps J. Bloch (1934) was right in stating that Kashmiri only primordially had been Dardic and later underwent a very heavy "Indo-Aryanization."

At least in terms of linguistic geography and sociolinguistics the situation is clear : Kashmiri does belong to the linguistic map of India proper and shares many typical socially determined features with the other regional languages of the Republic of India. As for typology, strangely enough despite the great progress achieved in this field of linguistics in recent years, very little was done that examined all the Indo-European languages of South Asia including Kashmiri (among the few exceptions should be cited works by G.A. Zograph (1976) and C. Masica (1976) in which Kashmiri data are almost ignored). This article should be viewed as an attempt to fill in, to a certain extent, this gap.

1.0. Leaving aside Kashmiri phonology which was described and characterized in detail in my other works (Zakharyin 1974, 1975) I will concentrate on grammar proper (dealing with language signs as such but not with the separate systems of significants or signifiés) from typological points of view.

The quantitative typological method worked out by J.H. Greenberg (1960) seems to be the most appropriate when talking in terms of "differentiative typology". Three texts representing different variants of the narrative style (a fairy-tale, a didactic story, a biographical extract) of 100 words each were selected for determining the typological indexes that characterize Kashmiri (Zakharyin 1974, 1981). Some alterations were also made in the repertoire of basic units suggested by Greenberg, and in particular the notion of "nexus" was considered redundant; thus when reckoning the indexes, in almost all the proportions or fractions (the only exception is "the index of agglutination") 100 (being the number of words considered) served as denominator. After determining the indexes in each of the different texts, the average figures (based on an arithmatic mean) were computed and only those are given and used below.

1.1. The average index of synthesis in Kashmiri (M/W, where M=the number of the morphemes, W the number of words in a given text) is equal to 2.13. Thus this is a synthetic language opposed to the neighbouring analytical Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman. Still the syntheticity of Kashmiri is less than in its nearest "relative" and neighbour, Shina (2.4), but greater than in Hindi-Urdu (1.8).

1.2. The agglutination index in Kashmiri (A/M—1, where A is the number of agglutinative constructions in the text) is 0.33. Thus in the field of morpheme combining techniques in a word-form, Kashmiri is of the same type as Hindi-Urdu (0.34) or Persian (0.34) but differs sharply not only from Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman where the agglutination index is very high and approaches 1, but also from Shina (0.8) and Pahari (the average rate in Nepali is 0.9) as Indo-European languages of the area the structure of which was very much transformed under the impact of contacts with the neighbouring Tibeto-Burman, contacts which lasted for centuries.

1.3. The word—(or stem) combining index R/W (where R=the number of root-morphemes) is in Kashmiri rather low : 1.04. In this respect Kashmiri resembles Indo-Aryan, Iranian and Dravidian and is opposed to Tibeto-Burman where the index is high.

The derivation index D/W (When computing it the alterations in Greenberg's methodology suggested by V.N. Toporov

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and T.J. Elizarenkova (1976 : 70-73) where taken into consideration), not high in Kashmiri, is equal to 0.08. According to this feature Kashmiri may be grouped with the other Indo-European languages of the area and also with Tibeto-Burman but is opposed to Dravidian where the index is much higher.

The index of dominant inflexion which shows the relation of the number of inflexional morphemes (I) to the total number of words (W) is in Kashmiri very high, equal to 1.02. That means that actually every word of the Kashmiri text analysed contains at least one inflexional morpheme. In fact their number in the words belonging to "changing" classes (and only those are characterised by the presence of inflectional morphemes) is higher : usually a form of a word belonging to a "changing" word-class possesses at least two inflexional morphemes. In this respect Kashmiri approaches Dravidian (in Tamil, for example, the index is 1.06) and is opposed to the nearest representatives of Indo-Aryan (in Hindi-Urdu the index is equal to 0.67) though it may be supposed that in Western Indo-Aryan as well as in Eastern Iranian (in Persian (representing Western Iranian) the index is rather low and comparable with that of Hindi-Urdu, namely, 0.39 (Zakharyin 1965) the inflexion index should be higher.

1.4 Turning now to the group of indexes that are concerned with the order of affixes in relation to the root-morpheme in a word-form we see that Kashmiri is different from the other Indo-European languages of the area as its morphology is characterised by the presence not only of suffixes but also of infixes (which cannot be properly opposed to transfixes). As for the prefixation index, which shows the ratio of prefixes (Pr) to the number of words in a text analysed (W), this is equal to 0. Thus Kashmiri, like almost all the languages of south Asia, is a prefix-less language. But the postfixation index in Kashmiri (Pf/W where Pf is the general number of postfixes in a given text) is high and equals 0.80. Still this feature does not clearly show the specificity of Kashmiri in the area, as postfixation as such is characteristic for almost all the languages of South Asia (except Khasi, a Mon-khmer language, where prefixation and infixation are highly developed). By this typological criterion Kashmiri out-distances Indo-Aryan and Iranian (the indexes in

Hindi-Urdu and Persian are 0.53 and 0.49 respectively) and (together with Shina) yields only to Dravidian where the mentioned index is more than 1.

The process of infixation or transfixation in Kashmiri is to be briefly described as this side of Kashmiri morphological structure has yet to be properly explained. Take for example a typical "square" (after Greenberg) set of Kashmiri forms : a) /kar/ "do", b) /kor/ "done" (m. sg.), c) /kər/ "done" (f.sg.), d) kər',/ "done" (m.pl.) Actually this type of grammatically (morphologically) conditioned variation in form and meaning is characterized in traditional grammars of Kashmiri as being somewhat outside grammar proper and described as instances of "internal inflection." As not only the vowels of the ultimate syllable of the stem but very often also the terminal consonants of the word form are drawn into these sets of alternations (as for example is the case with the derivatives of the same type from the stem *lag* "to begin" : a) *lag* b) *log*, c) *ləj*, d) *ləg'*), the rules for these so-called "alternations" become very complex, unsystematized and ad hoc. The only solution is (ignoring many phonological details that should not bother us here) to postulate two glides : /Y/ and /W/, in Kashmiri phonology, which at the morphological level act as grammatical morphemes (affixes) destined to mark the combinations of the grammatical categories of gender and number (namely, to serve as signifiants for signifiés constituted by different combinations of the members of the grammatical dichotomies "plural/ non-plural" and "feminine/ non-feminine"). The morphophonological representation of the "square" set of forms described would then be : a) */kar-ϕ*, b)*ka-W-r(ϕ)*, c) *ka-Y-r·(ϕ)*, d) *ka-(ϕ)-r-Y-(ϕ)*, as opposed to the form e) *ka-(ϕ)-r-Y-a* "done" (f.pl.) from which we may obtain the phonological representation */kar-KaWr-kaYr-kaY-KarYa/* with the requisite phonetic realisation. The phoneme /W/ thus functions as grammatical morph, and namely infix, with the meaning "-Plur. and Fem." and the phoneme /Y/ may also play a role of grammatical morph, being either infix or post-fix, and having the meanings "-Plur. & +Fem "or" +Plur. (& Fem.)". As both internal and terminal parts of the sequences are subjected to variation and this variation presupposes alternations of certain phonemes with their absence (zero-morphs) the best and most consistent solution would be one taking into account the existence of transfixes; that is, a special type of affixes which when joining the root-morph split it and simultaneously split themselves. But morphologically this solution, being a complicated one, is less preferable than a set of infixes *-W,-Y,-Ya* as suggested so that the whole set of forms will be *ka-W-r, ka-Y-r*, kar-ϕ, *kar-y, kar-Ya*, etc.

The infixation index **If/W (where If** is the number of infixes marked in a given **text)** is **rather** high in Kashmiri, equalling 0.24. In this **respect Kashmiri** can be compared to the Austric languages of **South Asia with** their wide use of infixes. The rest of the languages of the area (except for Dardic Shina and probably also Pahari Nepali) are completely or almost completely devoid of infixation. It should be noted that (understood as it is) infixation is a highly regular process in Kashmiri, thus often forming agglutinative types of constructions. In this it is desirable to follow Greenberg (1960) who rightly showed that what traditionally had been called an "internal inflection" or termed as "symbolism" by E. Sapir (1921) is in reality a predictable (and thus "automatic") procedure of inserting special types of morphs equal to phonemes into word stems.

1.5. The last group of indexes shows the syntactic functions of morphological elements. The index of non-agreement of inflexion ("pure inflection" in Greenberg's terms) shows the relation of the number of inflected words which do not follow agreement rules (Pi) to the total number of words (W). The index actually measures the existence and development in a language of a (syntactic by nature) category of *case* realizing the syntactic potencies of verb in a sentence. This index in Kashmiri, equivalent to 0.7, is higher than in Indo-Aryan, Iranian or Tibeto-Burman and is comparable with that of Old Indo-Aryan or Dravidian.

The two other indexes show the role of word order and of agreement processes in Kashmiri: The isolation index points to the relation of the number of isolating words (0) to the total number of words in a given text (W). Isolating words are those not subject to inflexion; the majority of words of this type consist of only one (root) morpheme, some of them also have derivative morphemes but no inflectional morphemes. The agreement index Co/W shows the relation of the number of words participating in the agreement processes (Co) to the total number of words (W). It mostly illustrates the syntactic relations between nouns on one side and adjectives and verbs on the other. In Kashmiri the isolation index is equal to 0.25; and the agreement index, to 0.29. As in all the other Indo-European languages of the area, word order in Kashmiri does not play an important role and is subordinate to other, wholly morphological (word-changing) means. In this, Kashmiri is in sharp contrast with Tibeto-Burman and in somewhat less contrast, with Dravidian and Austric where the role of the linear order of elements is greater.

The quantitative indexes for Kashmiri discussed above can be summarized in tabular form (See Table 1). For the purposes of comparison the data of the other (modern and ancient in the case of Indo-Aryan) languages of the area are also given : those characterizing Persian and Sanskrit are taken from J.H. Greenberg's article (1960) ; those concerning Hindi-Urdu, Tibetan, Shina and Nepali, from my publications (1965, 1981, 1982), the rest, from publications of other authors.

2.0 In addition to the above morphological specifications some purely syntactic characteristics should also be mentioned. namely, those concerning the "order of the meaningful elements" (1970) though these for Kashmiri were already given by C. Masica (1976). The fact worthy of attention is that due to this feature Kashmiri stands apart from all the rest of the languages of South Asia as the word order of type SOV predominates everywhere in the area but for Kashmiri where SVO sentence structure (with the necessary implications) is preferable. What was not stated earlier and what is worth mentioning is that following the deep structure parallelism between the organization of the sentence and the syllable this perference for SVO structure at the sentence level is echoed by the dominating (C) VC ("closed syllable") structure at the prosodic level. This is especially noticeable when comparing the stock of affixes in Kashmiri and Indo-Aryan (Hindi-Urdu, for example)

TABLE 1 : *The quantitative typological indexes for Kashmiri and other languages of South Asia*

Languages :	M/W	A/M-1	R/W	P/W	I/W	Pr/W	Pf/W	If/W	O/W	Pi/W	Co/W
Kashmiri	2.14	0.33	1.04	0.08	1.04	0	0.80	0.24	0.24	0.47	0.29
Shina	2.06	0.70	1	0.27	0.79	0	1.06	—	0.34	0.45	0.21
Tibetan	1.33	0.99	1.24	0.09	0	0	0.09	—	1	0	0
Nepali	1.50	0.84	1	0.25	0.25	0	0.50	—	0.55	0.23	0.23
Hindi-Urdu	1.82	0.34	1.06	0.09	0.67	0.04	0.53	—	0.34	0.38	0.28
Persian	1.52	0.34	1.03	0.10	0.39	0.01	0.49	—	0.52	0.29	0.19
Tamil	3.18	0.92	1.34	0.68	1.06	0.03	1.94	0.03	0.37	0.74	0.12
Sanskrit	2.59	0.09	1.13	0.63	0.84	0.16	1.18	—	0.16	0.46	0.38
Pali	2.74	0.26	1.24	0.11	0.73	0.21	0.58	—	0.15	0.52	0.33

Where the grammatical morphemes of (C) V syllabic structure are dominant in Indo-Aryan, Kashmiri has in their place affixes of (C)VC or even C types.

3.0 For the contensive typological characteristics of Kashmiri the most significant are data concerning the opposition inside the area of South Asia between the languages of nominative typology (Dravidian and Austric), those of ergative typology (Tibeto-Burman, Shina and Napali) and the languages of the nominative-ergativized type.

When using the terms "ergative", "nominative" etc. we are following the theory of G.A. Klimov according to whom the ergative nature of a language manifests itself clearly at the lexical (with the opposition "transitive/non-transitive" verbal lexemes), morphological (with the opposition "transitive/intransitive" conjugations) and syantactic (with the opposition of two types of sentence structure) levels. "At the deep-syntactic level the ergative typology of a sentence means a typology according to which the subject of the transitive action is treated differently from the subject of an intransitive one; and the object of the former, exactly as the subject of the latter" (1976 : 48). Inside the sentence ergativity in a given language may be realized through different morphological means either in the verb itself (verbal type) or in the noun (nominal type), or in both (mixed type). According to Klimov the diachronic process of the development of ergativity in a language passes at the syntactic level from the verbal towards the nominal via mixed stages. In time the active typological stage may only precede (but not follow) the nominative and ergative typological phases. The active stage (supposed for Proto-Indo-European) may unpredictably terminate (as a result of internal development), either in the nominative typology or in the ergative. "There are no known cases of the formation of consistent ergativity on the basis of developed nominativity" (1976 : 200.) That is why the secondary and inconsistent ergativity in part of the generally nominative Iranian, Aryan and Dardic families can be explained and correctly interpreted only by taking into account the factor of interference between the language systems in contact (1973 : 199-200).

3.1. When taking this into account we observe the situation in the languages of South Asia to be as follows : the Eastern Dardic or Dardic-proper languages; namely, Kashmiri and Shina, present the data, which actually mirror the state of things everywhere in the Indo-European languages of South Asia. That is, ergativity patterns found in the Dardic proper languages may serve as ideal patterns describing and explaining the phenomena of ergativity in the whole of South Asia. These are two-fold : ergativoidness (secondary and partial ergativity) in Western Indo-Aryan) and (more consistently) in Kashmiri, and the nominal type of ergativity in Dardic Shina, Pahari and Assamese as part of Eastern Indo-Aryan. Having understood the processes of the development and functioning of ergativity in Dardic Shina on one hand and in Dardic Kashmiri on the other (taking into account the very close genealogical relations between the two) we can easily explain the analogous processes in the rest of the Indo-European languages of the area. Kashmiri in this respect acts as a kind of a meta-system for the varying systems of Western Indo-Aryan : the features of ergativity that characterize the Western South Asia languages show a maximum of concentration, consistency and clarity in Kashmiri.

3.2. Taking as a basis Klimov's postulates on ergativity, we can easily show that Kashmiri with its mixed type of ergativoidness (typical for non-Northern Dardic and Indo-Aryan) demonstrates the most evident features of the previous "verbal" stage. On the lexical level the whole set of Kashmiri verbal lexemes is divided into two subsets of the transitive and intransitive verbs. The only exception is a small number (not more than a hundred) of verbs of the "second conjugation" which function as intransitives semantically and also syntactically but as transitives at the purely morphological level. Morphologically the difference between the two main subsets is properly and consistently marked as there are considerable distinctions between them not only at the derivational level (the "Past participles" are formed differently for transitives and intransitives) but at the inflexional level as well (there exists an opposition between transitive and intransitive conjugations as seen i.e. in *pok-us* "I walked" m., sg. intransitive—*por-um* "I read", m., sg, transitive). Kashmiri together with Sindhi and Lahnda, as the representatives of North-Western Indo-Aryan, has a well developed system of the socalled "pronominal enclitics" that forms a foundation for this opposition between the transitive and intransitive conjugations. But to show that the Kashmiri system is a fuller one, at least three very important differences are to be considered : 1) in the sphere of the verb the enclitic system in Kashmiri is the most developed as the distinctions between the pronominal affixes are not those of the two-fold ergative/nominative series of affixes (as in Sindhi, Lahnda or elsewhere in Indo Aryan), but the threefold : ergative/ nominative/possessive series. (2) While everywhere in Indo-Aryan the use of enclitics is optional, varying freely with the use of "full pronouns" in the proper slots of the syntactic structure of the sentence, in Kashmiri it is obligatory at least in the IInd person, and thus at least in this person one can see the fixed morphological differences between the conjugated intransitive and transitive verb-forms ; *tsol-ukh* "(You) moved" but *mo:r-uth* "(You) killed"). 3) While in Indo-Aryan due to the existence of the contegory of definiteness the personal pronoun usually cannot appear in its unmarked ("nominative") case form when occupying the object-slot in the syntactic structure of the sentence it is normal and a proper thing for it to be in the nominative in Kashmiri : Thus while in Indo-Aryan the verb form of an ergative sentence does not change for person and obligatorily shows only a IIIrd person affix when the object is a personal pronoun, in Kashmiri the predicate forms change according to the person not only of the subject but of the object as well. That means that Kashmiri when contrasted with its southern Indo-Aryan neighbours while showing the nominal-verbal (mixed) type of ergativoidness still shows a greater role for the specifically verbal part of it and thus (on a diachronic scale) must be supposed to represent the earlier (and more consistent) phase of secondary ergativity. The Indo-Aryan languages situated (generally) to the south of Kashmiri split into two groups: 1) Lahnda, Sindhi, Marathi (with its remnants of personal enclitics) where the verbal components of ergativoidness are rather evident (though less explicitly marked than in Kashmiri), and 2), the languages of the rest of the area, especially literary Hindi and its Western dialects, where the role of the nominal components (inside the mixed type) is greater. The formal means for marking "verbality" or "nominality" within the mixed ergativoid systems are the affixes of transitive/intransitive conjugations on one hand and the existence of the special postposition of ergativity on the other.

3.3 Seen "at a glance" and on the basis of contensive typology the South Asia area represents itself in this way : the Tibeto-Burman languages, being the most Northern inside the area, are split : the languages of Tibet and the Himalayas (including literary Tibetan) demonstrate a consistent ergativity of the nominal type, as is true of the Naga languages of Eastern India. But the languages of the Garo-Bodo subgroup, the Kuki languages and the Burmese dialects belong to the consistently nominative type. Less evident and of a different nature is the split among the Austric languages : the Mon-Khmer Khasi and the majority of the peripheral Munda languages are definitely nominative but some central Munda languages (Mundari, for example) show features of the earliest ergativity of the nominal type rapidly transforming itself (due to language contacts) into nominativity; besides, all the Munda languages demonstrate the evident and numerous remants of the preceding active typology stage. The Dravidian languages belong to the nominative type.

As for the Indo-European languages of the area they are also split, but in contrast with the languages of other families this split is a three-fold one : the northern languages of the family (Dardic Shina, and, showing numerous traces of Dardic influence, colloquial (but not literary) Nepali, and Assamese) show the latest, nominal phase of the ergative typology; the Western languages (Dardic Kashmiri and non-Eastern Indo-Aryan) are languages of the nominative typology with secondary, limited (to the sphere of the so-called "perfective tenses") and inconsistent ergativity (ergativoidness); the Magadhan languages of the East with the exception of Assamese (Oriya, Bengali and the languages and dialects of Bihar) are nominative with no ergativoidness. As I have shown, the ergativoidness of Kashmiri is the most consistent and of the earliest (verbal) type in comparison with the other Indo-Eroupean languages of the area (which are characterized by the prevailing nominativity plus rudimentary ergativoidness). Thus to discover the sources and to understand the laws of the evolution of ergativoidness in Kashmiri means actually to explain the genesis of ergativoidness in the whole of the non-Northern typological subset of languages.

3.4. Different explanations have been suggested in order to account for the origin and development of the phenomenon of ergativoidness in Indo-Aryan and Dardic. Perhaps the earliest and still most popular one is the hypothesis formulated by Benveniste (1974) and supported by Pireiko (1968). Their hypothesis suggests a wholly internal reason for the development of ergativoidness on the basis of the so-called "passive meaning" of the perfective participle of the transitive verb on one hand and the absence of the verb "to have" on the other. But it can be easily shown that these so-called "reasons" demand in their turn yet other explanations : for example the "passive meaning" of the perfective participle is typical for the whole of Indo-European, it is not at all clear why it is just in Indo-Iranian that the ergativoidness came into existence and not in the other branches of Indo-European. So, we must conclude that while the "passive meaning" of the perfective participle was definitely an important factor it was only due to some external stimulus (language contact) that ergativoidness developed in Indo-Iranian.

Klimov was the first to approach the problem on purely typological grounds and to suggest a consistent external explanation. According to him the ergativoidness in Indo-Aryan, Eastern Iranian and Dardic was stimulated by the contacts of the Indo-European languages of the area with the Burushaski-related dialects of earlier times (1976 : 60). In his opinion, the speakers of Burushaski in earlier days lived much to the South of the modern places of their settlement and might have had contacts with the Indo-European languages in the Western regions of India. There are two typologically-based objections to this hypothesis of Klimov : 1) in our days at least the Burushaski language is a nominative language with ergativoidness of the same mixed type as in Kashmiri and Western Indo-Aryan (limited to the "perfective tenses" of verbs) and as that found in other Indo-European languages of the area; besides, as was noted by Klimov himself (1970) the lexical system of Burushaski shows numerous traces of the borrowing of intensive root and derivational morphemes from

Shina, a language of nominal ergative typology: since Burushaski was "recipient" in the lexical sphere it is logical to suppose that it might have been a "recipient" in the grammatical field as well but the grammatical differences between the two languages are quite evident. On the other hand, if Burushaski stimulated a secondary ergativity in Indo-Dardo-Iranian it is not at all clear why the same (mixed or verbal) type of ergativoidness was not developed in Shina where instead one can observe a contensive nominal ergativity. 2) The verbal system of Burushaski has structurally the same type of pronominal clitics marking the status of the subject and the object as we find in the languages of the North-West of India and in Kashmiri except for one important morphological difference : in Burushaski the pronominal elements marking the object are *prefixes* while, in Kashmiri and Indo-Aryan, the subject-object marking pronominal elements can only be *postfixes*. Thus, it is hardly likely that the Burushaski system served as an external stimulus for the development of ergativoidness in Indo-Aryan and Dardic.

The latest external explanation was recently suggested by me on purely hypothetical grounds (1981). It is connected with the idea of peoples' migrations in Northern India at the beginning of the Christian era, especially with the White Hun invasions of the area. It is supposed that the White Huns, being orginally the inhabitants of more Northern and Eastern parts of Asia, might have been speakers of languages having an ergative typology. The contacts of their languages with the Proto-Dardo-Indo-Aryan languages of the North-West resulted in the secondary ergativization of the latter. Later on, the White Huns and the Dards of the North-West (perhaps by that time a kind of military union was formed between the two) started their migration and expansion toward the South attested in the historical documents of the epoch (take for example the migrations of the linguistically Dardic Abhirs of the extreme North-West into Kathiawar and Malta in the first millennium A.D. reflected in stone and brass inscriptions found there) and which terminated in the formation of the Rajput ethnic entity. Still later (in VI-VIII centuries A.D.) the Rajput expansion into the Central and Northern regions started, and the system of tightly connected Rajput small kingdoms and principalities was formed all over Western India. As Namvar Singh (1954) has shown the Rajputs are very likely to have played a role as spreaders of ergativity in the West: the territories of Eastern India, which were not the target of the Rajput expansion, are characterized by Indo-Aryan languages of nominative typology. That is, the genesis of ergativoidness in the West of India could be explained as a process in two stages: in the first stage due to the influence of the ergative language of the White Huns on the dialects of the North-West secondary ergativity (ergativoidness) of the verbal type was formed and developed in the latter; in the second stage the Rajputs, through their secondarily ergativized languages, spread ergativoidness further on into the Indo-Aryan languages of the Centre thus implanting or stimulating the development of tertiary ergativity (ergativoidness of the mixed type) in the Central Indo-Aryan languages. The Bihari-Bengali-Oriya dialects not exposed to the Rajputs' 'languages' influence and having contact more with Dravidian languages of nominative typology were never ergativized and remained nominative.

3.5. It must be evident that all the external hypotheses discussed so far do have a considerable element of speculativeness in them and demand the adduction of too much non-linguistic and problematic data for the support. Coming back to purely linguistic facts the following conclusions are possible:

The consistent ergativity of the nominal type in the Northern segment of the Indo-European language continuum in the area is definitely a result of contacts between Indo-European and Tibeto-Burman and due to the interference of the latter with the former (1982).

The mixed type ergativoidness of the Indo-European languages of the West was definitely stimulated by some external factor as well, but the exact nature of these interfering languages is for the time being not known. The ergativity-spreading language might have been either Burushaski or some Munda-like language (of the Mundari type), but there are some inconsistencies in attributing to both the languages mentioned the status of being the ergativizing ones. The Burushaski hypothesis demands a supposition concerning a radical change in the morphological structure of the languages in contact and for this wholly linguistic reason is unlikely or at least uncertain. The Munda hypothesis is much more valid linguistically as both the tense system and the means for making the opposition of transitive/intransitive verbal forms are to a great extent alike in Munda and Kashmiri. But the problem turns on the absence of historical evidence that speakers of Munda languages ever came into contact with the speakers of Dardic languages, especially Kashmiri. There is no documentary evidence of Munda-like people ever settling in the western regions of India. As the same type of highly hypothetical presupposition is also needed for the Burushaski and the White Hun hypotheses (but the linguistic plausibility in these cases is less) the Munda theory seems to be the most appropriate for the time being.

Among the Indo-European languages of the West India, Kashmiri is the one that concentrates to the greatest degree the characteristics of ergativoidness. Thus it is a kind of prototype for all the ergativoid languages of the area. The Indo-European languages of the West demonstrate the mixed phase of ergativoidness. Detailed analysis of each language system allows us to determine the degree of "verbalness" or "nominalness" in them. In this respect in Kashmiri the verbal features of ergativoidness are found to the maximum extent. Hindi and its dialects, especially those bordering Western Pahari (Bangaru, for example), represent the opposite prototype of a system with the greatest concentration of nominal features. While moving along the line of Kashmiri, Lahnda, Sindhi, Western Rajasthani, Gujarati, Marathi, Western Hindi, and Eastern Punjabi dialects, we can easily observe the decrease of verbal features within the mixed type of ergativoidness and the increase of its nominal features.

Shina and Pahari with their nominal ergativity play the role of a limiting frame for these fluctuations. As the verbal type of ergativity precedes a later nominal one, Kashmiri may be viewed as diachronically the most conservative element in the whole system. In this respect a thorough description and a comparative-typological analysis in the near future of its dialects is extremely desirable.

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Towards A Morphological Classification of Kashmiri Monosyllabic Nouns

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In a statement of typically forthright bluntness, Bailey begins his brief description of Kashmiri grammatical forms by asserting that:

> 'In teaching Urdu declensions I usually divide nouns into four classes. There are (1) masc. nouns with any ending other than *-ā* or *-a*; (2) masc. nouns ending in *-ā* or *-a*; (3) fem. nouns ending in *-ī*; (4) fem. nouns with any other ending. These correspond to Kashmiri declensions.'[1]

There is perhaps some historical justification for regarding Kashmiri and Urdu declensions as parallel. But declension in Urdu is of a very simple type, in which inflexion is effected only by the alteration or addition of final vocalic morphemes to an unchanged stem, as in s./kamra:, ra:t/, p. /kamre:, ra:tẽ/.[2] An inflexional model of the Urdu type provides little assistance in coping with the far more complex changes involved in the declension of Kashmiri nouns.

These complexities constitute at once the morphologist's delight and the learner's nightmare, as I myself know to both my pleasure and my pain, and the present paper is the result of this double experience. It seeks to establish sets of rules which will account for the changes involved in the inflexion of Kashmiri nouns, and is intended both as contribution to the theoretical description of the language and as a possible aid in teaching it. The discussion is restricted to monosyllabic nouns, as defined below. This is in order to keep the treatment as simple and as brief as possible; rules formulated to cover the crucial case of monosyllabic nouns can in fact generally be applied with straightforward extensions to longer stems with their higher proportion of unchanged elements. Monosyllabic nouns constitute a crucial case both because so many Kashmiri nouns are monosyllabic, and because such nouns are proportionately subject to the greatest number of changes in inflexion. They are certainly the most difficult for the learner to cope with, since it is, for instance, harder to, perceive the connexion between /həṭ/ and /haci/ than that between /necuv/ and /neciv'/.

As is the case with so many aspects of Kashmiri, the standard descriptions of the Kashmiri noun are still those provided long ago by Grierson.[3] Like all his descriptions of Kashmiri, these are written in his adaptation of Pandit Ishvara Kaula's ingenious writing system, with its mixture of phonetic, phonemic, and historical vowel-notations. Bailey merely transcribes some of Grierson's paradigms in accordance with his own purely phonemic system.[4] Kachru too does little more than this in his accounts of the language, other than to provide a few rules for the formation of plurals, which are far from being exhaustive.[5]

We are, in fact, dealing with a perfect instance of the peculiar development of Kashmiri linguistics generally. The primitive attempts of the nineteenth-century grammars, now unacceptable from every point of view, were supplanted by Grierson with internally consistent (if not entirely satisfactory) morphological accounts, but these were cast in a notation which is no longer acceptable, involving as it does the frequent confusion of vocalic phonemes and the copious use of the unpronounced historical '*mātrā*-vowels'. Later writers have regularized the description of the phonology,[6] and have started to investigate the syntax of Kashmiri, left more or less untouched by Grierson.[7] But there has been no attempt to construct a morphological scheme which will fit the phonology, a gap which seems the more extraordinary in that Kashmirt now has a standard and nearly phonemic system of writing in the Persian script. So far as the morphology is concerned, we are therefore back to something like the position outlined by Grierson, in what must still be the most widely selling serious introduction to Kashmiri:

> 'The chief peculiarities of Kāshmīrī—peculiarities which have been altogether ignored by previous writers—are the existence of the so-called *mātrā*-vowels, and the changes in the body of a word caused by them in the course of declension and conjugation. A correct knowledge of these is essential to the comprehension of the most ordinary grammatical forms, and, without that knowledge, Kāshmīrī, which has really a very simple and regular grammar, presents to the unhappy student nothing but an undigested mass of apparently hopeless irregularities that can only be assimilated by rote.'[8]

What we shall now seek to do is show how these 'apparently hopeless irregularities' can be accounted for by some simple rules that do not involve any invocation of the historical '*mātrā*-vowels', but refer only to the present state of the language and its current phonemic inventory.[9]

(1) A monosyllabic noun is defined as a noun whose sn. has a single syllable, of the types described in (2). For the purposes of the present paper the category is taken to include monosyllabic adjectives (other than pronominals like /su, akh/, which require special treatment), and monosyllabic past participles, since their inflexion follows the nominal declensions so closely.

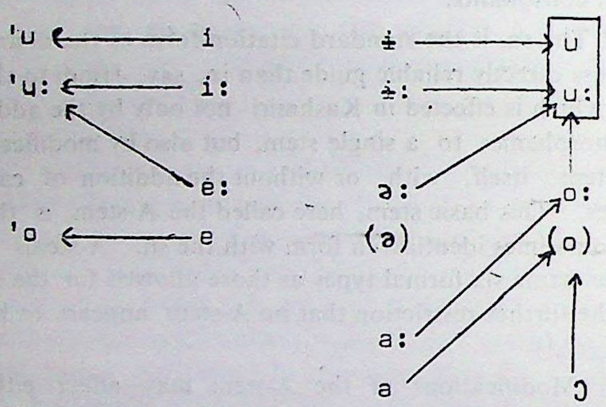
(2) The syllable of the sn. consists of at least VC, other possible patterns being VCC, CVC, CVCC, CCVC, CCVCC. These

six types are illustrated by /ə:s, ənz, mo:l, ponz, kra:l, grand/. All vowels other than the marginal /ɔ:/ may occur. Consonant clusters are subject to the general restrictions of Kashmiri word-phonology,[10] so the second member of initial clusters is always /r/, and the first member of final clusters always a nasal homorganic with the last. Consonants may be palatalized, other than those whose palatalization is excluded by general phonological rules, such as the first member of clusters and the palatal consonants.

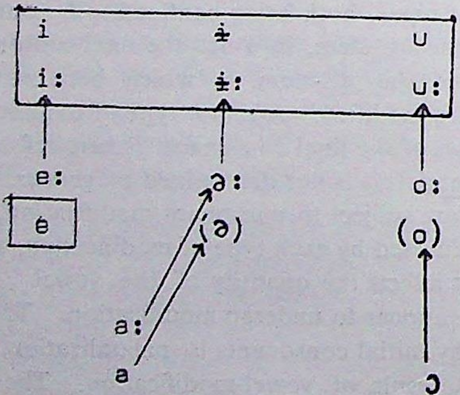
(3) The sn. is the standard citation-form of the noun, but it is a less directly reliable guide than in, say, Hindi to the inflexion, which is effected in Kashmiri not only by the addition of case-morphemes to a single stem, but also by modifications of the stem itself, with or without the addition of case-morphemes. This basic stem, here called the A-stem, is therefore only sometimes identical in form with the sn. A-stems may be of the same six formal types as those allowed for the sn., but with the further restriction that no A-stem appears to have the vowel /o/.[11]

(4) Modifications of the A-stem may affect either the vowel or the final consonant, or both. Vowel-modified stems are of two simple types, here called the O-stem and the Ǝ-stem. Palatalizations of the final consonant may occur, being written here as A-stem' and Ǝ-stem'. Consonant-modified stems are of two major types, both being confined to f. nouns. They are here called the AC-stem, in which the final consonant alone is modified, and the ƎC-stem, in which both vowel and final consonant are modified. A minor type of modification, involving aspiration of the final consonant, is here referred to as the A-stem-H, and this is not determined by gender. Not all final consonants are subject to consonant-modification, and not all vowels are affected by each type of modification, none of which in any event affects the quantity of the vowel. A-stems with /ə/ do not appear to undergo modification. The only change undergone by initial consonants is palatalization, always as a conditioned result of vowel-modification. The following five rules provide formal descriptions of the phonological changes involved in the formation of the different types of modified stem. Examples are deferred until the listing of declensional paradigms below.

(5) O-stems are formed from A-stems by rounded mutations of the A-stem vowel. Front vowels are subject to what is called 'breaking' in Germanic philology, becoming rounded vowels after a palatalized consonant. The enclosure within a box of /u, u:/ indicates that they remain unchanged in O-stems, and the bracketing of /ə, o/ that they do not furnish vowel-modified A-stems.

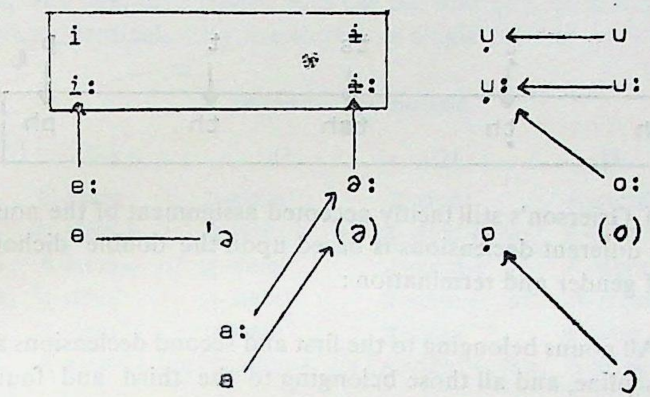


(6) Ǝ-stems are formed from A-stems by raised mutations of the stem vowel. The raising does not affect the high vowels.

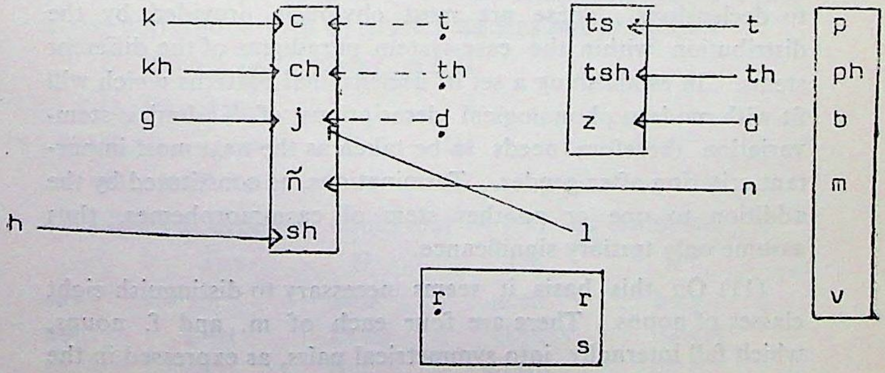


(7) The vowel-modification in Ǝ-stems consists generally of raised mutations of the A-stem vowel, similar to those of Ǝ-stems, but centralization is sometimes involved here. These

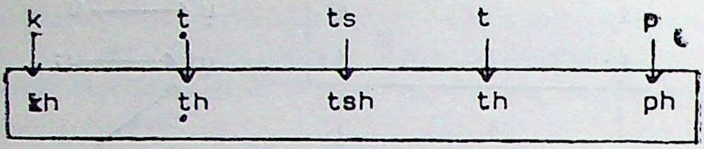
centralized vowels, here written with dots, are not normally distinguished in the Kashmiri script.[12]



(8) In the formation of AC-stems and ƎC-stems, the final consonant of the A-stem is subject to changes. These all involve an alteration in the place of articulation, to palatal[13] or to elveolar, and usually one in the manner as well, to affrication. The change of retroflex to palatal affects only AC-stems, not ƎC-stems, this sole difference being marked by the use of broken arrows. The enclosure of the palatals and alveolar affricates indicates that they themselves are not subject to modification, like the other consonants, similarly enclosed, which keep their A-stem forms in AC-stems and ƎC-stems also.



(9) The A-stem-H is formed by the aspiration of final unaspirated voiceless consonants of the A-stem. Other final consonants are unaffected.



(10) Grierson's still tacitly accepted assignment of the nouns to four different declensions is based upon the double dichotomies of gender and termination:

> 'All nouns belonging to the first and second declensions are masculine, and all those belonging to the third and fourth declensions are feminine. The second declension includes all nouns whose nominatives singular end in *u-mātrā*, and the first declension includes all other masculine nouns. The third declension includes all feminine nouns whose nominatives singular end in *i-mātrā* or *ü-mātrā*, and the fourth declensions include all other feminine nouns.'[14]

Gender can certainly be accepted as the primary criterion for the assignment of nouns to declensions. But Grierson's secondary criterion of termination rests upon a recognition of the phonemic reality of the *mātrā*-vowels, which few are now willing to accord them. It is therefore necessary to look to phonetically recognizable features for determining assignments to declensions. These are most obviously provided by the distribution within the case-system paradigms of the different stems. In establishing a set of declensional patterns which will fit with modern phonological descriptions of Kashmiri, stem-variation therefore needs to be taken as the next most important criterion after gender. Terminations, as constituted by the addition to one or another stem of case-morphemes, thus assume only tertiary significance.

(11) On this basis it seems necessary to distinguish eight classes of nouns. There are four each of m. and f. nouns, which fall internally into symmetrical pairs, as expressed in the arrangement of the table. This shows the distribution of the

different stems in the inflected forms of each class, together with the case-morphemes, where these are used. Since the sd., sa., and sag. of f. nouns, and the pa. and pag. of all nouns are always identical, they are shown as single entries.

masculine nouns

	I	II	III	IV
sn.	O-stem	Ǝ-stem'	Ǝ-stem	A-stem
sd.	Ǝ-stem+ /is/	Ǝ-stem+ /is/	Ǝ-stem+ /as/	A-stem + /as/
sa.	A-stem+ /i/	Ǝ-stem'	Ǝ-stem+ /*i*/	A-stem+ /*i*/
sag.	Ǝ-stem'	Ǝ-stem'	Ǝ-stem+ /an/	A-stem+ /an/
pn.	Ǝ-stem'	Ǝ-stem'	Ǝ-stem	A-stem
pd.	A-stem'+/an/	Ǝ-stem+ /in/	A-stem+ /an/	A-stem+ /an/
pa./ ag.	A-stem'+/av/	A-stem'+/av/	A-stem+ /av/	A-stem+ /av/

feminine nouns

	V	VI	VII	VIII
sn.	ƎC-stem	Ǝ-stem'	A-stem	A-stem
sd./ a./ ag.	AC-stem+ /i/	A-stem+ /i/	ƎC-stem	A-stem+ /i/
pn.	AC-stem+ /ii/	A-stem+ /i/	ƎC-stem	A-stem+ /*i*/
pd.	AC-stem'+/an/	A-stem+ /an/	ƎC-stem+/*i*v/	A-stem+ /an/
pa./ ag.	AC-stem'+/av/	A-stem'+ /av/	ƎC-stem+/av/	A-stem+/av/

These correspond with Grierson's declensions as follows:

I = Grierson's II

II, III, IV = I

V, VI = III

VII, VIII = IV

Paradigms of specimen nouns may be given as examples.

	I	II	III	IV
sn.	ṭoṭ	kə:z'	di:sh	ba:g
ad.	ṭəṭis	kə:zis	di:shas	ba:gas
sa.	ṭaṭi	kə:z'	di:sh*i*	ba:g*i*
sag.	ṭəṭ'	kə:z'	di:shan	ba:gan

pn.	ṭəṭ'	kə:z'	di:sh	ba:g
pd.	ṭaṭ'an	kə:zin	de:shan	ba:gan
pa./ag.	ṭaṭ'av	ka:z'av	de:shav	ba:gav

	V	VI	VII	VIII
sn.	ku:r	ci:ṭh'	va:l	ma:l
sd./a./ag.	ko:ri	ci:ṭhi	və:j	ma:li
pn.	ko:ri	ci:ṭhi	və:j	ma:l*i*
pd.	ko:r'an	ci:ṭh'an	və:j*i*n	ma:lan
pa./ag.	ko:r'av	ci:ṭh'av	və:jav	ma:lav

(12) Three additional rules affect only particular cases of certain classes. The sag. of II may appear as Ǝ-stem+ /in/, thus /kə:zin/ for /kə:z'/. The pn. of V adds /*i*/ for /i/ after AC-stems ending in the sibilants /ts, tsh, s, z/, thus sn. /məts/, pn. /mats*i*/.[15] Cases formed by the simple A-stem alone, i.e., the sn. and pn. of IV, and the sn. of VII and VIII, are liable to the modification A-stem-H if the final consonant is unaspirated and unvoiced, as shown in these abbreviated paradigms.

	IV	VII	VIII
sn.	kaṭh	ra:th	vath
sd.	kaṭas	rə:ts	vati
pn.	kaṭh	rə:ts	vat*i*

(13) Kashmiri adjectives are of two types. The first is not subject to inflexion, thus /ja:n/ 'good' is used in all cases of both genders. The second type is subject to full inflexion, following declension I in the m., and V in the f.

	m.	f.
sn.	O-stem	ƎC-stem
sd.	Ǝ-stem+/is/	AC-stem + /i/
sa.	A-stem+/i/	
sag.	Ǝ-stem'	
pn.	Ǝ-stem'	AC-stem + /i/
pd.	A-stem' + /an/	AC-stem' + /an/
pa./ag.	A-stem' + /av/	AC-stem' + /av/

One paradigm will be sufficient.

sn.	boḍ	bad.
sd.	bəḍis	baji
sa.	baḍi	
sag.	bəḍ'	
pn.	bəḍ'	baji
pd.	baḍ'an	bajan
pa./ag.	baḍ'av	bajav

(14) A large class of past participles, including nearly all those from transitive verbs,[16] follows the declension of inflected adjectives, though the n. forms only are used.

	m.	f.
s(n).	O-stem	ƎC-stem
p(n).	Ǝ-stem'	AC-stem + /i/

Thus the past participle of /dapun/ 'to say' has the following inflexion.

	m.	f.
s.	dop	dəp
p.	dəp′	dapi

(15) So far as the learner of Kashmiri is concerned, the chief problem is one of recognition, that is of knowing which declensional pattern governs the inflexion of a given noun, and so being able to predict the stem-modifications to which it will be subject. The solution of the learner's problem depends on his being given a certain minimum of information in regard to each noun when he is first introduced to it, whether in dictionaries or —more crucially— in word-lists attached to teaching materials. As we have seen, the bare citation of the sn. and the gender, adequate as a guide to declension in Hindi, is usually quite insufficient for predicting the declension of Kashmiri nouns.[17] Such a citation allows prediction only in the case of nouns with a final palatalized consonant,[18] which will be assigned to II if m., to VI if f. A fuller citation-form is therefore required, and this will have to include

the citation of different forms to cover different classes of word. Appropriate minimal citation-forms are therefore set out in the following rules.

(16) The easiest case is that of f. nouns, for which the sn. and pn. consistute an adequate citation-form. All cases other than the sn. are readily predictable from the pn. The following pairs of citation-forms show the minimal and maximal variation between sn. and pn. for each declension.

(V)	kij, kiji (f.)	'nail'
	khənḍ, khanji (f.)	'piece'
(VI)	ciṭh, ciṭhi (f.)	'letter'
	pu:th', po:thi (f.)	'book'
(VII)	ga:v, gə:v (f.)	'cow'
	ra:th, rə:ts (f.)	'night'
(VIII)	ma:l, ma:l*i* (f.)	'garland'
	vath, vat*i* (f.)	'way'

(17) For m. nouns the citation of sn. and pn. is less satisfactory, since they are identical in II-IV. Nor do they together provide a fully reliable guide to the A-stem needed to form the later cases of the p. in I-III, or in the special instance of IV nouns with a final voiceless aspirate in the n. The pa./ag. therefore needs to be cited as well, though the pn. may be omitted for the sake of simplicity from the citation-forms of II-IV nouns. The following pairs show the minimal and maximal variations possible, a single entry being sufficient for the less well represented II and III.[19]

(I)	gur, gur', gur'av (m.)	'horse'
	mo:l, mə:l', ma:l'av (m.)	'father'
(II)	kə:z', ka:z'av (m.)	'qazi'
(III)	di:sh, de:shav (m.)	'country'
(IV)	ba:g, ba:gav (m.)	'garden'
	kaṭh, kaṭav (m.)	'ram'

These forms allow prediction of the other cases to be made, in accordance with the patterns set out in (11) above.

(18) For inflected adjectives the citation of the n. forms in both genders and numbers will be desirable in the initial stages of any teaching programme, since the quadruple modifications of O-stem, Ǝ-stem', ƎC-stem, and AC-stem are far from easy for the beginner to predict. Degrees of variation may be illustrated by the following sets of citation-forms.

dor', dər, dər, dari	'strong'
n'uk, nik', nic, nici	'small'
ṭo:ṭh, ṭə:ṭh', te:th, ṭa:chi	'dear'
s'od, sed', s'əz, sez*i*	'straight'

The non-appearance of the A-stem in any of the n. forms probably makes it desirable to introduce the inflexion of the adjective after that of the past participle, whose root provides a basic citation-form which also functions as the A-stem of the participle. After familiarity has been gained with way in which the modified stems are formed, it will be sufficient to cite adjectives in the msn. and fpn. only, since the first provides the final consonant and the second the vowel of the A-stem.[20]

dor, dari	'strong'
ṭo:ṭh, ṭa:chi	'dear'

(19) As an aid in teaching the rules for the formation of the modified stems it may be helpful to construct phonological paradigms based on the patterns of the adjectival n., and teach them to students as a drill. These paradigms may be regarded as a summary of the formal rules set out in (5-8) above. A suitable choice of final consonant allows the A-stem to be identical with the AC-stem, whose vowel determines the order of arrangement.

O-stem	Ǝ-stem'	ƎC-stem	AC-stem
(msn.)	(mpn.)	(fsn.)	(fpn.)
mor	mər'	mər	mari
mo:r	mə:r'	mə:r	ma:ri
mu:r	m*i*:r'	m*i*:r	mə:ri
m'ur	mir'	mir	miri
m'u:r	mi:r'	mi:r	mi:ri

mur	m*i*r'	m*i*r	m*i*ri
mu:r	m*i*:r'	m*i*:r	m*i*:ri
mur	mur'	mur	muri
mu:r	mu:r'	mu:r	mu:ri
m'or	mer'	m'ər	mori
m'u:r	mi:r'	mi:r	me:ri
mu:r	mu:r'	mu:r	mo:ri
mor	mor'	mŏr	mɔri

A second phonological paradigm will deal with the modifications of the final consonant involved in the formation of ƎC-stems and AC-stems. The Ǝ-stem' is worth including for the sake of grammatical completeness.

mok	mək'	məc	maci
mokh	məkh'	məch	machi
mog	məg'	məj	maji
moṭ	məṭ'	məṭ	maci
moṭh	məṭh'	məṭh	machi
moḍ	məḍ	məḍ	maji
mot	mət'	məts	mats*i*
moth	məth'	mətsh	matsh*i*
mod	məd'	məz	maz*i*
mon	mən'	məñ	mañi
mol	məl'	məj	maji
moh	məh'	məsh	mashi

These paradigms can be used in teaching as abstract grids, in the same way as the forms of the Arabic root F^{c}L are used in teaching the forms of Arabic grammar or the feet of Urdu prosody. Just as Urdu /manzu:r/ may be described as a *maf*^{c}*-ul* form, so might Kashmiri /ṭo:ṭh/ be described as a *mo:r* form, or /ṭa:chi/ as a *ma:ri-machi* form. Further familiarity with the paradigms could be induced by the practice of reverse drills or rearrangements to help in the recognition and prediction of associated inflexions.

The tentative title chosen for this paper should have suggested its exploratory character. Even within its deliberately limited subject a number of problems have been left untouched.

These most notably include the simple extensions of monosyllabic A-stems, whether by addition of the emphatic suffix /-y/ or the use of pronominal suffixes with the past participles, in both of which cases Grierson's *mātrā*-vowels at last come into their own.[21] Another obvious omission is the awkward case of A-stems in /-st-/, which are liable to special treatment in modification, but rules for which are not easily accomodated elegantly within the simple outlines of the present paper.[22]

The confining of the present discussion to the monosyllabic nouns only has naturally led to the construction of a rather artificial set of rules. The most obvious extension would be to develop these rules to deal with nouns and derived nominal forms of more than one syllable, in order to provide a comprehensive classification of the noun.[23] But one has to begin somewhere, and if this paper has suggested the urgency of the need for modernising and refining the morphological description of Kashmiri, for both theoretical and practical reasons, it will have succeeded in its main purpose.

NOTES

1 T.G. Bailey, *The pronunciation of Kashmiri*, London, 1937, p. 13.

2 The grammatical abbreviations used in this paper are : a. = ablative; ag. = agentive; d. = dative; f. = feminine; m. = masculine; n. = nominative p. = plural; s. = singular. Oblique strokes indicate phonemic transcriptions.

3 G.A. Grierson, 'On the Kashmiri noun', reprinted from JASB, LXVII, I, 1, pp. 29 ff. in *Essays on Kashmiri grammar*, London and Calcutta, 1899, pp. 33-102, subsequently condensed in *Staudard manual of the Kashmiri Language*, Oxford, 1911 (reprinted Jammu, 1973), vol. I, pp. 24-33.

4 Bailey, op. cit., pp. 13-15.

5 Braj B. Kachru, *A reference grammar of Kashmiri*, Urbana, 1969, pp. 81-9, 112,—120, and *An introduction to spoken Kashmiri*, Urbana, 1973, part I, especially pp. 93-4, 152-3, 168-70, 267-9. It should be said that the focus of both works is on syntactic and sociolinguistic aspects of Kashmiri rather than on morphology. Other treatments are both sketchy and quite unsystematic, e.g. Naji Munawar with Shafi Shauq, *Kə:shur gra:mar*, Kaprin, 1973, pp. 22-33.

6 Especially Bailey, op. cit., and Jawaharlal Handoo, *Kashmiri phonetic reader*, Mysore, 1973, whose analysis closely follows those of Kachru.

7 Particularly Kachru, also Omkar N. Koul, *Linguistic studies in Kashmiri*, New Delhi, 1977.

8 *Standard manual*, vol. I, p. 9.

9 As described and written by Kachru and Handoo, but with the modifications suggested below in notes 19 and 13.

10 On which see Ashok R. Kelkar and Pran Noth Trisal, 'Kashmiri word phonology', *Anthropological Linguistics*, VI, 1, 1964, pp. 13-22.

11 But witn the additional possibility of final /-st-/. The special treatment of these A-stems in modification is briefly described in note 22 below.

12 Although they are distinguished in pronunciation, e.g. /gur/ 'horse', versus /gụr/ 'mare'. For further details, see Bailey, op. cit., pp. 10-12. Since the Kashmiri script distinguishes /'ə/ by writing *hamza* over *ye* [see Muhammad Amin Kə:mil, *Achriza:n*, Srinagar, 1966, p. 50], it seems illogical not to mark /ụ, ụ :. ọ/ also. The two last sounds could be simply written with hamza over the vowel-letters, and /ụ/ perhaps by some combination of *hamza* and *pesh*.

13 The change of /n/ to /ñ/ requires further comment. It seems worth distinguishing /n/ from /n'/, on the basis of such minimal pairs as/ho:nan/ 'to the bitches' and /ho:n'an/ 'to the dogs', even if the phonetic difference is slight, since the writing of palatal /ñ/ as palatalized /n'/ disturbs the logic of assignment to declensions on the basis of palatalization of the final cansonant. The Kashmiri script again fails to make the distinction, although it would be simple to write /ñ/ on the model of Sindhi, which uses a *jim* with two dots side by side. [This change, like those suggested in note 12 for writing the centra-

lized vowels resulting from the ƎC-stem mutations, is recommended for works dealing in Kashmiri script with Kashmiri phonology, rather than as disruptions of the barely established standard orthography.]

14 *Standard manual*, vol. I, p. 26.

15 Similarly with lack of palataization of the stem in the pd. and pa /ag., which will appear as/matsan, matsav/.

16 But a special rule has to be formulated for dealing with past participles from vowel roots, e.g. /kh'av/ 'ate', mp. and f. /kheyi/.

17 In this respect the careful if rather haphazard listings of inflected forms in Grierson, Standard manual, vol, II, and Bailey, are much more helpful than the bare entries of Kachru's glossaries.

18 Provided that /n'/ does not appear as a written form for /ñ/ (cf. note 13 above).

19 The distinction of these nouns, especially those of declension III, is anyway imperfect, i.e., they may often also be treated as belonging to IV.

20 A similar citation is also necessary for irregularly formed past participles, when the root does not provide a ready-made A-stem, thus /b'u:ṭh, be:chi/ 'sat', versus /d'u:th, de:chi/ 'seen'.

21 Cf. the inflexion of /so:ruy/ 'all', or the use or 1s. suffixes with /kor/, i.e. /korum, kərim, kər*i*m, kar'am/.

22 The loss of /-t-/ in the sn., irrespective of stem-type, as illustrated by sn. /hos/ 'elephant', /nas/ 'nose' versus sd. /həst*i*s, nasti/, and the anomalous formation of C-stems, illustrated by /ros/, fsd. /rətsh/ 'lacking', obviously require the construction of special rules. Other irregularities, which are not of major importance anyway, have not been dealt with here. An obvious instance is the avoidance of consonant-modification in the ƎC-stem and AC-stem of /tsok', tsok, tsok, tsɔci/ 'sour', presumably in order to avoid confusion with /tsoṭ, tsɔci/ (f.) 'loaf'.

23 In fact, such an extension is necessay even for a fully sufficient definition of what constitutes a monosyllabic noun. For the purposes of this paper, we have admitted the types/ponz, pənzis/ and /hos, həstis/, but such IV types as /ath*i*, athas/and /k*i*s*i*m, k*i*smas/ might well have been dealt with, if not excluded by arbitrary definition in (1-2) above, since they are more easily handled with the monosyllabic types than such truly disyllabic types as /'necuv'neciv'/ or the adjectival /l' odur, led*i*r', l'əd*i*r, ledri/.

Kashmiri : A Descriptive Sketch

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I

The Language in its contemporary and historical setting

The State of Jammu and Kashmir stretches across three language families—Burushāskī language, which constitutes a family by itself, is spoken around Hunza and Nagir in the north-west; Bāltī, Ladākhī, and Burig in the snow-bound north-east and east are Tibeto-Burman in affiliation and indeed closely connected with west Tibetan dialects; the remaining area in the south-west and the south is covered by Indo-European languages divisible into four groups. Around Punch on the south-western border Chhibhālī and other varieties of Lahndā are spoken; around Jammu on the southern border Dogrī and other varieties closely related to Panjābī are spoken; further east near Himachal Pradesh Paḍarī and Bhadrawāhī belonging to the western Pahāṛī group are spoken. These three Indo-Aryan groups of course interlock with the languages of the plains to the south and of the Himalayan area to the south-east. The remaining area, namely, that from Gilgit in the north-west to the Pir Panjal range to the south (and this includes the Kashmir Valley watered by the upper reaches of the River Jhelum) is covered by the so-called Dardic group of languages of which Kashmīrī is the most widely spoken, the best known, and the only one possessing a written literature. The Dardic area actually extends farther to the north-west into Chitral and Kafiristan and thus abuts upon the area covered by Pashto and other Iranian languages.

The Dardic languages undoubtedly belong to the Indo-Iranian subfamily of the Indo-European family and it is also certain that they do not belong to the Iranian branch. Their exact relation to the Indo-Aryan languages is a matter of some doubt and awaits further study. Dardic languages of the west are more influenced by the Iranian languages—where they are not actually displaced by the latter at points. Shiṇā spoken around Gilgit and further south presents a clearer picture of Dardic from the linguist's point of view. Kashmiri, possessing a written literature, is influenced by Sanskrit like all other literary languages of South Asia (including the Tibeto-Burman Newari). In the south it has border varieties showing the influence of the neighbouring Lahnda, Panjabi, and western Pahari — the principal dialect is Kishtawarī bordering on western Pahari, though the 1961 Census of India also mentions Pogulī, Bunjawalī and Sirājī. According to the 1961 Census, 19 14 446 persons returned Kashmiri as their mother tongue; the four dialects mentioned here account for another 41 669. Out of the total of 19 56 115 persons 18 298 speakers are from Panjab and other parts of India, the remaining being from Jammu and Kashmir. (The same Census shows 856 speakers for Shina, including Chilāsī, Gilgiṭī, and the Tibetan-influenced Brokpa.) Grierson's figure for Kashmiri based on the 1911 Census is 11 95 902 and this includes 8 145 speakers outside the State as also 52 780 speakers of Kishtawari, Poguli, Sirājī, Rāmbanī, and the mixed dialects of Riāsī. The 1971 Census figure for Kashmiri is 24 38 360. How much of the increase is normal population increase and how much is due to other factors such as a person reclassifying himself is not known.

Kashmīrī (also Kāshmīrī in Hindi-Urdu) is called Kä:šur or Kä:šir (respectively masculine or feminine forms of the adjective) by the Kashmiris themselves (who live in Käši:r, the name of the Valley in their language). At various times it has been reduced to writing in the Shāradā, the Devanāgarī, the Gurmukhī, and the Perso-Arabic script (the first three scripts being closely related). Today Kashmiri stands recognized in the language schedule (the Eighth) of the Constitution of India and is very gradually coming into its own. It is being used on the radio, from the platform, and on the stage. Books of fiction, poetry, and magazines (though no newspapers or until quite recently, no scholarly periodicals) are being printed and published in the Perso-Arabic script. An academy of the name Lalitkala, Sanskriti va Sahitya Akademi Jammu Kashmir was founded in 1958. However, Kashmiri speakers still favour Urdu as a language of literary and public life: Urdu and not Kashmiri is the official language of the State.

The speech of educated people in Srinagar, the capital city, may be taken as the contemporary standard. There are differences between the speech of Muslims and Hindus—chiefly in the area of vocabulary, though these are nowhere very sharp unless we are thinking of the self-conscious speech of Arabic and Persian scholars on the one hand and of Sanskrit scholars on the other. The speech of urban Muslims is more liable to show rural dialect influence than that of urban Hindus.

Contemporary Kashmiri literature dates from the 1930s and is heavily indebted to Urdu literature. One of the earliest written records of Kashmiri is in the form of passages embedded in the Sanskrit text *Mahānayaprakāśa* by Shitikaṇṭha on Tantrist-Shaivist doctrine (dated variously from the 13th to the 15th centuries). But Apabhraṁsha, Sanskrit, Persian, and more recently Urdu remained from time to time the popular media of cultivated expression: there is no clear, steady, unified Kashmiri literary tradition as such, though works of undoubted importance have been produced from about the 14th century onwards. We can only mention here the three strands. The Shaiva-Sufi mystic synthesis of the earliest period is best seen in the aphoristic pieces of the poetess Lal Ded which were brought together under the Sanskrit title *Lallāvākyāni*, and which still remain popular among the educated and the uneducated alike. The mystic and lyric strain is continued by two other poetesses later—Haba Khatoon (16th century) and Arni Mal (18th century). Secondly, there is the Pandit tradition represented by long narrative poems on Hindu mythological themes modified by the local folk versions, the language being progressively more highly Sanskritized (15th to 19th centuries). Finally, direct Persian influence in narrative themes, literary and metrical forms, and language is seen in the Muslim poets (18th to 19th centuries). There is no literary prose to speak of till the contemporary period. Kashmiri is rich in folklore, which remains uncollected for the large part, though some editorial activity has already started.

The language has been studied and grammars and dictionaries have been prepared by European missionaries, officials, and academic scholars (who are also responsible for the few editions of older texts that have been published) since the middle of the 19th century. Pandit Ishwar Kaul (who died in 1893) left behind him the grammar *Kāšmīra šabdāmrtam* (written in Sanskrit, published and later made use of by Grierson) and the materials of a dictionary (forming the nucleus of Grierson's Kashmiri-English dictionary). A full-scale historical study of Kashmiri phonology, grammar, and vocabulary still remains a desideratum.

The remaining three sections present a descriptive sketch of the contemporary standard variety with occasional references to older stages or non-standard varieties of Kashmiri.

II

Word Phonology

The consonant, the semivowel, and the vowel phonemes of Kashmiri may be tabulated as follows. (See the Table on page 66.)

To these may be added the phoneme of nasalization /^{n}/ that accompanies the vowel, whose symbol precedes it.

Phonetic notes: (1) The lamino-alveolar and the lamino-palatal stops are affricated. All six of these as well as the corresponding fricatives are sulcated (grooved). (2) The nasal /n/ is alveolar unless modified by the consonant following.

(3) All consonants acquire a [y] - colour before front unrounded semivowels and vowels and a [w] - colour before /^{u} u u:/ —especially the consonants /n l r/ in the former case and /k k^h g/ in the latter case. (4) The semivowels /^{i} ^{u}/ are consonant-like before or after vowels — /^{u}/ does not occur in such positions. The semivowels /^{i} ^{u}/ are like extra-short vowels or vowel-colourings of preceding consonants when not followed or preceded by vowels — /^{u}/ does not occur in such positions in contemporary Kashmiri though it survives in the Devanagari spelling and has to be reckoned with in sandhi rules as an abstract unit. (5) The vowels /ü ü:/ are not rounded like the German umlaut vowels ü and ö, but unrounded like the Russian bI or the Tamil *u* of *adu* 'that'. The semivowel /ü/ corresponds to these. (6) The vowels /ä a:/ correspond roughly to the normal pair *a* and *ā* in Hindi; /ä:/ is a longer version of *a* and /a:/ is a shorter version of *ā*. The sign /:/ is of course a sign of length.

CONSONANTS

	Bilabial	*Apico-dental*	*Apico-alveolar*	*Retroflex*	*Velar*	*Lamino-alveolar*	*Lamino-palatal*	*Glottal*
Stop voiceless unaspirated	p	t		ṭ	k	c	č	
Stop voiceless aspirated	p^h	t^h		ṭ^h	k^h	c^h	č^h	
Stop voiced (unaspirated)	b	d		ḍ	g	j	*j*	
Nasal (voiced)	m		n					
Fricative (voiceless)						s	š	
Lateral (voiced)			l					
Trill (voiced)			r					
Friction vocoid								h

SEMIVOWELS AND VOWELS

	Front unrounded		*Non-front unrounded*		*Back rounded*	
Semivowel	i		ü		u	
Vowel high short/long	i	i:	ü	ü:	u	u:
Vowel mid short/long	e	e:	ä	ä:	o	o:
Vowel low short/long			a	a:		

It will be observed that Kashmiri lacks the voiced aspirated stops—there are no b^h, d^h and so forth. In words in which one would expect them the voiced unaspirated stops occur—compare Ka. /gur/ with Hindi *ghoṛā* 'horse'. The voiceless aspirated stops should be distinguished from sequences of a voiceless unaspirated stop followed by /h/ — contrast /māk^{h}ür/ 'pretence' with /ṭukho:y/ 'they ate for you'.

Note that we have spelt the last-mentioned example as /ṭukho:y/ and not as /ṭukho:^{i}/. We have adopted the convenient practice of writing /^{i} ^{u}/ as /y v/ when adjacent to vowels with which they form diphthongs, reserving the symbols /i ü/ for the extra-short so-called *mātrā*-vowels. Some commonly occurring diphthongs are /ay av yu yu: ya va va:. The last three are especially noteworthy in that the neighbouring vowel /a/ (or /a:/) is coloured by the semivowel — /k^{h}yal/ 'lotus leaf', /dvad/ 'milk', /sva:d/ 'one-and-a-quarter' have the English vowels in *yap*, *wash*, *wall* respectively. Note that the sequences of a lamino-alveolar stop or fricative followed by the semivowel /y ^{i}/ should be distinguished from the lamino-palatal stop or fricative (which is automatically followed by [y] in pronunciation) : consider /cyap^h/ 'evading tolerance', /päc^i/ 'they believed'.

The typical Perso-Arabic loan consonants of Urdu are missing in Kashmiri phonology except possibly an initial /f/ in careful pronunciation. In English loanwords like *bank* (financial sense), some may prefer an English-like front unrounded low long vowel to the more common /a:/ saying /bae:nk/ rather than /bä:nk/ .

Vowels before sequences of the type /mp nk^h nj/ are automatically nasalized, as in /amb/ 'mango', /pa:nc^h/ 'five', /rang/ 'colour'. The symbol /^{n}/ needs to be used only in items like /ka:^{n}h/ 'someone'.

The Hindi-Urdu distinction between ḍ and ṛ is not contrastive in standard Kashmiri. The phoneme /ḍ/ is rendered rather lightly finally or before a non-retroflex consonant unless it is preceded by /n/. Consider /kaḍ/ 'take out', /gvaḍni:/ 'at first', but /ḍarun/ 'to fear', /mvanḍ/ 'widow' (with /n/ rendered as [ṇ]). Kashmiri has no /ḍḍ/ or for that matter no other double consonants. (The double semivowel /vv/ occurs.) In substandard speech [ṛ] may be used in some items where standard speech would have /r/, as in /ku:r^{u}/ 'girl, daughter'.

The Devanagari Writing System

The system as such is common to both Kashmiri written in Devanagari and in Sharada. The Roman transliterations in this section, therefore, stand equally for the corresponding Devanagari and Sharada characters. The full Sanskrit alphabet is used — including *ṛ*, the superscript *bindu*, the postscript *visarga*, and the subscript *virāma* stroke (conveying the absence of a vowel) but excluding *gh*, *jh*, *ḍh*, *dh*, *bh*. The lamino-palatal stop /č/ is written either as *c* or as *cy*, and so with the other two /č^{h} j/. The lamino-alveolar stops are written *c*, *ch*, *j* with the addition of a subscript dot. The lamino-palatal stop /š/ is rendered as š, but sometimes as *ṣ*, if traceable to a Sanskrit *ṣ*. The mātrā-vowels /^{i} ^{u}/ and the now silent /^{u}/ (not adjacent to a vowel) are as a rule rendered by combining the *virāma* with *i*, *ū*, and *u* respectively. The semivowels /^{i} ^{u}/ when adjacent to a vowel are rendered as *y*, *v* respectively except in the sequences /a^{i} a^{u}/ which are rendered as *ai*, *au* respectively. The vowels /ü ü:/ are rendered by *u ū* accompanied by a diacritic (a vertical stroke above or less commonly by ◡ or ◠ below or by ◡ above). The vowels /ä ä:/ are as a rule rendered by *a ā* accompanied by a vertical stroke above; the vowels /a a:/ are rendered by *a ā* without any diacritic. The vowels /e e:/ are both rendered as *e* and /o o:/ are both rendered as *o*. Nasalization /^{n}/ is rendered by the *bindu*.

The *daṇḍa* (a single vertical bar) is used by way a sentence-closing punctuation mark. Spacing is used between words. Western punctuation marks may also be used.

The Perso-Arabic Writing System

The consonants are as in Urdu. Thus—

pe with *choṭī he*, *fe* are both /p^{h}/
te, *toy* are borh /t/
se, *sīn*, *śvād* are all /s/

baṛī he, choṭī he are both /h/
k̲he, kāf with *choṭī he* are both /k^h/
z̲āl, ze, ze, zvād, zoy are all /j/
g̲hain, gāf are both /g/
qāf, kāf are both /k/

The letter *'ain* is silent. After *ce* (for /č/), a new letter is inserted in the alphabet to represent /c/ with four dots in place of the usual three. (Some persons have suggested the use of the very rare letter *ze* for this purpose.) Final voiceless aspirated stops are regularly written with the corresponding symbols for voiceless unaspirated stops.

The semivowels and the vowels are even more clumsily symbolized than they are in Urdu. The vowels /i i: e: u u: o: a:/ are treated like Urdu *i, ī, e, u, ū, o, ā* respectively. For short /e o/, a postscript crescent-like *sukūn* added to *e, o* has been suggested. /a/ is like Urdu *a* except that the *zabar* is used with *alif* also. /ä/ is symbolized like /a/ — alternatively, the use of *hamza* in place of the *zabar* has been suggested. /ä:/ is symbolized like /a:/ except that the *madd* is retained over the conjoint form of *alif* as well — alternatively, a superscript *hamza* over the *madd* in all positions has been suggested. /ü ü:/ are symbolized like /i e:/ respectively, — alternatively, it has been suggested that they be symbolized like /u u:/ respectively except that a subscript *hamza* take the place of the superscript *peš*. The semivowel /^{i}/ is symbolized like /e:/ after vowels, but like /i/ before vowels and elsewhere. The semivowel /ü/ is left unsymbolized. The semivowel /^{u}/ is symbolized like /o:/ after vowels, but like /u/ before vowels. (It will be seen that /a^i a^u/ — that is /ay av/ — will be like Urdu *ai, au.*)

Punctuation and spacing will be as in Urdu.

Sentence Phonology

Phonological features other than the phonemes listed so far — consonants, semivowels, vowels, and nasalization — enter into the picture when words strung together as sentences are examined. There is no word accent (as in English) or word tone (as in Panjabi) in Kashmiri. There is an automatic light stress on the initial syllable of a word.

At the sentence level, Kashmiri probably has word-final, sentence-medial, and sentence-final junctures; sentence accents; and sentence tones. But all these remain to be properly studied. We shall use hyphens and plusses in this study purely for indicating grammatical boundaries for convenience sake.

Sandhi and other Adjustments

We have already hinted in connection with the non-occurrence of /ᵘ/ when there is no adjacent vowel not only that it did occur in an earlier period and does survive in the Devanagari writing system but that it still has to be reckoned at a relatively more abstract level of phonology to account for certain phenomena. The present account does not propose such an abstract phonology but rather indicates the sort of phenomena which will need to be accounted for in any such proposal.

The coming together of a (semi) vowel and another (semi)-vowel sometimes gives rise to sandhi. The different types may be illustrated as follows.

(1) The loss of the first of the two (semi) vowels, as /i/ or /ⁱ/ lost before /i/ or /i:/; /ᵘ/ lost before any vowel.

(2) The replacement of a vowel by a semivowel as /v/ for /u/ before /a/ or /a:/, /y/ for /i/ before /a/ or /a:/.

(3) The intrusion of a semivowel between two vowels, as /y/ between /i:/ and any other vowel, /v/ in some cases between /a:/ and other vowels.

(4) More drastic replacements such as the substitution of /ay/ for the sequence /ü/ followed by /üy/, of /i:/ for the sequence /ⁱ/ followed by /üy/, of /yey/ for the sequence /i/ followed by /üy/.

If two like consonants come together a single consonant remains. The semivowel /ⁱ/ (or /y/) coming after a lamino-palatal consonant will of course drop out as redundant. If /s/ is followed by /h/ , the latter is lost.

Along with sandhi, there are certain phonological adjustments to consider.

(1) Some words ending in /u/ followed by a consonant lose that vowel before a vowel ending.

/ ogun / 'fire', but / ogn-as / 'to fire'

(2) The distinction between the voiceless unaspirated stops and the corresponding voiceless aspirated stops is not very stable word-finally. (We have already seen how the Perso-Arabic writing system uses only the unaspirated characters in that position.) The same is the case with the distinction between the absence and the presence of /h/ after the last vowel in a word. The different possibilities arising out of this are illustrated below.

/ kap ~ kap^h/ 'cup': /kap-as ~ kap^h-as / 'to the cup'
/ kap^h/ '*kapha*, phlegm': /kap^h-as/ 'to phlegm'
/ mot / 'madman': /mät-is / 'to the madman'
/ lu:k ~ lu:k^h/ 'people': /lu:k-an/ 'to people'
/ a:gya: ~ a:gya:h/ 'command': /a:gya:h-ü/ 'commands'
/ ha:h / 'breath': / ha:h-as / 'to breath'

By far the most important phonologic alternation types of Kashmiri are those associated with vowel harmony and consonant assimilation (which is closely associated with it). Some idea of the kind of complicated relationships that can arise can be gained from the following inflectional paradigm of the adjective meaning 'great'.

	Nominative	Objective	Agentive	Ablative
M. Sing.	boḍ-(^{u})	baḍ-is	baḍ-^{i}	baj-i
M. Pl.	baḍ-^{i}	ba*j*-(y) an	ba*j*-(y) av	
F. Sing.	baḍ-ü		ba*j*-i	
F. Pl.	ba*j*-i	ba*j*-(y) an	ba*j*-(y)av	

Note that the parenthesized semivowels drop out only after the relevant rules of vowel harmony and consonant assibilation have applied.

In order to work out the rules of vowel harmony and consonant assibilation three kinds of environments need to be recognized : (1) Before certain occurrences of /^{i} y i i: ^{u}/ (the high unrounded vocoids), (2) Before certain occurrences of / ^{u} u / (the high rounded non-long vocoids), (3) Generally.

The alternations that could occur across these three environments can be displayed as follows. The third is placed in the middle as the neutral environment.

	Environment 1	Environment 3	Environment 2
Set 1	i, i:		yu, yu: respectively
Set 2	i:	e:	yu:
Set 3	ä, ä: respectively	a, a:	o, o: respectively
Set 4	u:	o:	u:
Set 5	vä, e respectively	va, ya	o, yo respectively
Set 6	ü, ü:	u, u:	
Set 7	o, o:, u, u: throughout		
Set 8	c, c^h, j respectively	t, t^h, d	
Set 9	č. $č^h$, *j* respectively	ṭ, $ṭ^h$, ḍ	
Set 10	č, $č^h$, j respectively	k, k^h, g	
Set 11	*j*, š respectively	l, h	
Set 12	t, t^h, d, ṭ, $ṭ^h$, ḍ, k, k^h, g, l, h throughout		

Looking back at the illustrative adjectival paradigm, one can see that the stem-vowel and the stem-final consonant belong to sets 3 and 9 respectively. The starting point will thus be the stem /baḍ-/.

III

Classes of Word-Stems

Kashmiri stems can be classified as follows:

(1) Nominals

(1.1) Nouns (all declinable for number and case and assignable to some gender)

(1.2) Pronouns (all declinable for number and case and assignable to some person and gender)

(1.3) Adjectives (only some declinable for gender, number and case—the rest being not declinable)

(1.4) Proadjectives (all declinable for gender, number, and case)

(2) Verbs (all conjugable —yielding non-finite forms and finite forms grouped into sets—further classifiable according to their selection of a sentence pattern)

(3) Particles (neither declinable nor conjugable — further classifiable into postpositions and other sub-classes depending on their functions in a sentence)

Some stems can function as members of more than one stem-class. In particular, note (a) that all proadjectives are also pronouns (though not vice versa); (b) that all adjectives of quality and degree are also adverbial particles (in which case a declinable stem will appear in the masculine singular nominative form when used adverbially).

Formation of Stems

Stems may be either simple or complex. Complex stems are formed either through derivation from other stems by the addition of endings or from compounding of two stems.

Some typical derivational formations can be illustrated as follows:

/moju:r/ 'labourer' (noun) : /mojr-en-^{i}/ 'female labourer' (noun)

/modur/ 'sweet' (adjective) : /modr-e:r/ 'sweetness (noun)

/č^{h}vak^{h}/ 'pain' (noun) : /č^{h}vak-ulad/ 'suffering from pain' (adjective)

/päri:/ 'fairy' (noun) : /päriy-i:hn/ 'little fairy' (noun)

/cu:r/ 'four' (adjective) : /cu:r-yum/ 'fourth' (adjective)

/vyoṭ^{h}/ 'fat' (adjective) : /vyäṭ^{h}-ür-un/ 'to make fat' (verb)

/vup^{h}-un/ 'to fly' (verb) : /vup^{h}-na:v-un/ 'to cause to fly' (verb)

/kar-un/ 'to do' (verb) ; /kar-na:-v-un/ 'to cause to be done' (verb)

Some typical compounding formations can be illustrated as follows:

/mu*j*/ 'radish' : /bod/ 'bundle': /mu*j*ibod/ 'bundle of radishes' (all three nouns)

/on/ 'blind' (adjective) : /gagur/ 'mouse' (noun) : /änügagur/ 'grey musk shrew, Suncus murinus, Linnaeus, *chuchundarī* (Sanskrit)' (noun)

/tre/ 'three': /še:ṭ^h/ 'sixty': /truhä:ṭ^h/ 'sixty-three' (all three adjectives)

At this point we must also note the existence of sets of pronominals such as the following (which could be regarded as compound stems):

	Demonstrative			Inter- rogative	Relative	Inde- finite
	'this'	'that'	'yonder'			
Pronoun and Proadjective of identity (animate fem. pl.)	yimü	humü	timü	kamü	yimmü	ke^{n}h (also any other plural)
Pronoun and Proadjective of quantity (m. sg.)	yu:t	...	tyu:t	ku:t	yu:t	...
Averbial particle of place	yeti	huti	tati	kati	yeti	...

Note the distinction between proximate, cis-distant, and trans-distant demonstratives. We shall come across formal differentiation between a proximate demonstrative and a relative only in very few sets. The trans-distant demonstrative also functions as the correlative to the relative.

Formations of Words through Declension

Apart from the highly irregular pronominal declensions all nominals fall into one of four declensions, namely, M1, M2, F1, F2, where M and F refer to artificial genders. (Kashmiri has no neuter gender.) The declinable adjectives consistently pattern like M1 and F1 nouns.

The regular declensions can be set out with the help of four typical noun stems — /šur-/ M1 'child' 'offspring', /cu:r-/ M2 'thief', /ko:r-/ F1 'girl, daughter', /ma:l-/ F2 'garland'. Note that the nominative also functions like the vocative.

	Nominative	Objective	Agentive	Ablative
M1. Sing.	šur-(^{u})	šur-is	šur-^{i}	šur-i
M1 Pl.	šur-^{i}	šur-yan	šur-yav	
M2 Sing.	cu:r	cu:r-as	cu:r-an	cu:r-ü
M2 Pl.	cu:r	cu:r-an	cu:r-av	
F1 Sing.	ku:r-^{u}		ko:r-i	
F1 Pl.	ko:r-i	ko:r-yan	ko:r-yav	
F2 Sing.	ma:l		ma:l-i	
F2 Pl.	ma:l-ü	ma:l-an	ma:l-av	

Note that the parenthesized portion will drop out after the relevant rules of phoneme alternation have applied. Some F1 nouns take / -^{i} / and not / -ü / in the nominative singular. Some M2, F2 nouns have certain declensional irregularities. Some nouns appear in both the genders — gur-(^{u}) M1 'horse' (nom.sg.), gur-^{u} F1 'mare' (nom sg.) ; kyul-(^{u}) M1, ki*j*-^{u} F1 'nail' (nom.sg.) (for the stem alternations refer to sets 1 and 11). An example of a declinable adjectival stem (/baḍ-/ M1, F1 'great') has already been presented in the last section. Examples of indeclinable adjectival stems are /buḍü/ 'old', /ämi:r/ 'rich '. Ordinal numeral adjectives of identity are regularly declined. Cardinal numeral adjectives of quantity are irregularly declined.

The irregular pronominal declension of the 1st person and the 2nd person stems (these are pronouns, never proadjectives) can be set out as follows. (The declension of the stem meaning 'other' (bya:k^{h}, beyi) will not be taken up here.)

	Nominative Sing.	Oblique Sing.	Nominative Pl.	Oblique Pl.
1st person M./F.	bü	me	äs^i	asi
2nd person M./F.	cu	ce	toh^i	tvahi

The declension of the reflexive pronoun stem can be set out as follows.

	Nominative	Objective	Agentive/Ablative
Reflexive Sg. M./F.	pa:nü	pa:nis	pa:nü
Reflexive Pl. M./F.	pa:nü	pa:nis	pa:nü

The remaining six stems (which are both pronouns and proadjectives of identity) have already been listed under compounding stem-formation. The declension of one of them — the trans-distant demonstrative ('yonder (distant and out of sight)') which also functions as the correlative to the relative — can be set out as typical.

	Nominative	Objective	Agentive	Ablative
Sg. Inanimate M/F	su~ti	tat^h	tam^i	tami
Sg. Animate M	su	tas~		
Sg. Animate F	sva	tämis	tami	
Pl. Inanimate M/F	tim	timan	timav	
Pl. Animate M				
Pl. Animate F	timü			

The oblique functions indifferently as the Objective, the Agentive, and the Ablative. These three Kashmiri cases roughly correspond to Hindi *ko* (direct object, patient, recipient), *-ne*, and *-se* (source, instrument).

The case-forms can function by themselves. The objective and the ablative of the noun may also take on either postpositions or the so-called genitive stem declined according to M1 and F1.

The genitive stem takes on three different shapes according to the type of noun to which it is added. A singular inanimate masculine noun takes /-uk-/ after the ablative; a singular animate masculine proper noun takes /-un-/ after the ablative; any other singular noun or any plural noun takes /-hund-/ after the objective. (The /h/ is of course subject to loss after /s/ .) The pronominals are quite irregular in that the pronoun plus the genitive sequence yields an irregular shape. For example, continuing with the pronominal stems illustrated so far :

lst Sg. myo:n- 'my'; lst Pl. so:n - 'our'
2nd Sg. čo:n- 'thy'; 2nd Pl. tuhund- 'your'
Reflexive Sg./Pl. panun- 'of self/selves, *apnā* (Hindi)'

Trans-distant demonstrative Sg. Inanimate M/F tamyuk- 'its'; Sg. Animate M/F tasund ~ täm^{i}sund 'his/her'; Pl. Inanimate/Animate M/F tihund- ~ timanhund- 'their'.

The whole sequence of the noun or pronoun along with the genitive stem then functions like a nominal stem (typically an adjective stem), and is declined accordingly. The masculine singular ablative of this can also take on some postpositions (cf. the Hindi-Urdu constructions like *ke pās*, *ke badle*).

Formation of Words through Conjugation

The full paradigm of a Kashmiri verb is formidably complex. The verbs can be grouped into three conjugations:

V1 all transitives (ṭuk-un 'to eat', vup^{h}-na:v-un 'to cause to fly'), some intransitives (as-un 'to laugh')
V2 some intransitives (vup-un 'to burn')
V3 most intransitives (vup^{h}-un 'to fly')

The formation of non-finite forms (the most important of which are the verbal-noun stem ending in -un-, the imperfective participle ending in -a:n, and the perfective participle ending in -mut- with declension) and of the radical finite-sets (namely, the future tense, the conditional mood, the imperative mood, the polite imperative mood, the past imperative mood — this last conveys a sort of counterfactual wish about a past state of affairs) is uniform for the three conjugations and can be summarized as follows (G, No, P stand for gender, number, person respectively; ⊙ stands for zero ending):

V1,2,3,+ one of the Non-finite endings

V1,2.3+ Subject-endings of No, P (+Object-endings of No, P)

The subject-ending sets differ according to the finite set chosen and, to a lesser degree, according to the object-ending that follows or its absence. By way of a sample, we exhibit here the subject-ending set for the future when object-endings are absent and the object-ending set that applies in any of the finite sets.

	Subject-ending-set for future			*Object-ending-set*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*		*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1st	-ü	-av	1st	-m	-⊙
2nd	-ak^{h}	-iv	2nd	-^{i}	-vü
3rd	-i	-an	3rd	-s	-k^{h}

These No and P endings are historically connected with the pronominal system. Note that throughout the verbal conjugation, when the subject-ending and the object-ending are both present, the two are never both of first person or both of second person. For the three imperative moods, there are no first person subject endings. The object-endings must be construed as indirect object (oblique complement) reference with intransitive verbs; they may be so construed in the first and the second person with transitive verbs; elsewhere they will be construed as direct object reference.

The conjugational differences come into play in the so-called participial finite-sets (namely, the first, the second, the third, and the fourth perfective) in contrast with the radical finite-sets mentioned earlier. The formation of the participial finite-sets can be summarized as follows

> V1,2,3 + Participial endings with G, No (+ Subject-endings of No, P (+ Object endings of No, P))

The pronominal subject and object endings may both drop out after V1 verbs only with expressed nominal subjects in the agentive case. Again, they may drop out after V2 and V3 verbs only when a third-person subject is intended. The object ending set is the same as with the radical finite-sets. The subject-ending sets differ according to the conjugation and, to a lesser extent, according to the object-ending that follows or its absence. By way of a sample, we exhibit here the subject-ending set first for V1 and then for V2 or V3 (object-endings are absent after these sets).

	Subject-ending-set for V1 perfectives			*Subject-ending-set for V2 or V 3 perfectives*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*		*Sg:*	*Pl.*
1st	-m	-⊙	1st	-s	-⊙
2nd	-t^h	-vü	2nd	-k^h	-vü
3rd	-n	-k^h	3rd	-⊙	-⊙

The participial endings with G, No for the four perfectives differ according to the three conjugations.

	M. Sg.	M. Pl.	F. Sg.	F. Pl.
First Perfective with V1, V2	^{u}/u	^{i}/i	^{u}/i	i/ya
Second Perfective with V1, V2, V3	yo:(v)	ye:(y)	ye:yi	
Third Perfective with V1	ya:(v)	ye:ye:(y)		
Third Perfective with V2, V3		ya:(y)		
Fourth Perfective with V3	iya:(v)	iya:(y)	iye:yi	

The first alternatives in the top row and the alternatives retaining the semivowels in the other rows are used only before zero pronominal endings. A few verbs belonging to V1, V2, have irregular stem-variants in front of the perfective participial endings. Thus :

> dy-un V1 'to give' : dit-^{u} first perf. m. sg. : dic-yo:v second perf. m. sg. : dic-ya:v third perf. m. sg. (the stem is di-)
>
> y-un V2 'to come': a:-v first perf. m. sg. : a:-yo:v second perf. m. sg. a: -ya:v third perf. m. sg. (the stem is yi-).

The uses of the four perfectives can be set out as follows:

	VI V2	V3
Proximate Past	first perfective	second perf.
Indefinite past	second perfective	third perf.
Remote Past	third perfective	fourth perf.
Declinable adjective (with -mut- a dded)	first perfective	second perf.

The gender and number of the participial ending has a subject reference with V2 and V3 (intransitive) verbs; the gender and number is invariantly masculine singular with V1 intransitive verbs; but the gender and number has an object reference with (V1) transitive verbs. The situation is somewhat reminiscent of Hindi and other languages.

Apart form the regular verb /a:s-un/ V2 'to be', there is also the defective stem /č^{h}-/ which takes V2 first perfective endings of G, No followed by the appropriate subject-ending set of No, P. Thus — /č^{h}-u-s/ Ist person M. Sg., /č^{h}-i-⊙/ Ist person M. Pl. , and the like. These function however like the Hindi *hai* as the copula and the auxiliary of the present tense. There is no other present tense in the conjugation system as such.

When /a:s-un/ is used as an auxiliary, it conjugates as V1 with the main verb being V1 and as V2 with the main verb being V2 or V3. Moreover, /a:s-un/ as a V1 verb takes on one more participial finite set, namely, the second conditional mood, in the following manner:

/a:s-/ as V1+Participial ending in No+Subject-ending of No, P.

The combination endings are as follows:

	Participial Sg + Subject-ending of No, P			*Participial Pl. + Subject-ending of No, P*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*		*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1st	ya-m	i-⊙	Ist	na-m	an-⊙
2nd	i :	i-vu	2nd	na-y	na-vu
3rd	ya-n	ya-k^{h}	3rd	na-n	na-k^{h}

The uses of the auxiliary verbs will be taken up under the Verbal Phrase.

Formation of the Noun Phrase

As its simplest a noun phrase consists of a noun or a pronoun, the noun can be expanded in the following manner:

(Genitive formation) (+proadjective) (+Adjective) + Noun /tam^{i}sund + su+ja:n+mohnyuv/
his that good man
'that good man of his'

The adjective in turn may be expanded yielding a complex adjective phrase in the following manner:

(Postpositional phrase) (+Adverbial particle of degree) +Adjective /mya:ni+k^{h}o:tu+syaṭ^{h}a:h+ja:n+mohnyuv/

me than much good man
'man much better than I am'

Some adjectives are an exception in that they never stand alone but are always attached to a noun or a pronoun in the objective or the ablative case, as: the genitive stem 'belonging to, made of', /kit-/ 'useful for', /hih-/ 'resembling'.

The adjective phrase in the example given is of course shown inserted within a noun phrase. But this need not always be the case. An adjective phrase may enter directly into the formation of a sentence as we shall see presently.

Some pronouns admit of expansion after them, as:

/ƀü+pa:nü/ 'I myself, (lst person+reflexive)

/yus+ka:^{n}h/ 'whoever' (relative + indefinite yielding a relative)

/kus+ta:n^{i}/ 'no matter who, (interrogative+trans-distant demonstrative yielding an indefinite)

/kus+sana:/ 'possibly who? ' (interrogative+doubt particle yielding an interrogative)

Formation of Verbal phrase

As its simplest the verbal phrase consists of a verb stem with finite conjugational endings. At their simplest the endings are seen in the imperative 2nd singular subject-ending with no object ending — this is realized by the bare verb stem.

The verbal phrase (not to be confused with the so-called verb phrase in the sense of the predicate phrase with or without the so-called 'Aux' element) can be expanded in one or more out of three ways.

First, one may add certain particles after the finite conjugational ending in the following manner:

> verb + finite conjugational ending (+ /ti/ 'also, indeed') (+/nü/, with imperatives /mü/ 'not') (+ a:/ with masculine addressee, /ay/ with feminine addressee 'eh ?') (+ /sana:/ 'I doubt it')

The polarity-question particle and the doubt particle cannot be added after the imperatives, while the emphasis particle and the negation particle can be added even after the imperatives.

Secondly, one may replace the finite conjugational endings by the so-called periphrastic constructions with the auxiliary 'be' (/as-/ and the defective /č^{h}-/) in the following manner:

> be-stem+finite conjugational ending+verb+the imperfective /-a:n/ or the perfective with /-mut-/ participial non-finite endings

This, incidentally, is the only way of conveying the present tense with a verb other than 'be'.

/ su + cʰu + pʰe:ra:n + yi:ra:nas + manj/
he is travelling Iran in
'He travels in Iran'

Finally, one may replace the verb stem by an expanded verb stem — the so-called 'compound verb.'

/su + cʰu+nü+hyaka:n+pʰe : ritʰ+ yi:ra:nas+manj/

he is not being-able to travel Iran in
'He is unable to travel in Iran'

The last example of course exhibits a simultaneous three-way expansion of the verb (/pʰe:r-/ 'travel') — the expanded stem (/hyak- pʰe:ritʰ/ 'be able to travel'), the periphrastic present (/cʰu+hyaka:n+pʰe:ritʰ/ 'is able to travel'), and the negative particle added after the finite form (/čʰu+nu/ 'isn't').

Formation of a Sentence

Under certain constraints a verbal phrase can stand by itself as a sentence. Normally, however, other positions such as the subject, the patient, the direct object, the predicative complement, and the oblique complement (such as the recipient) may be added and filled in depending on the syntactic subclass of the verb. Finally, there may be positions of circumstantials that do not depend upon the syntactic subclass of the verb. All these positions may be variously filled by noun phrases, adjective phrases, adverb phrases, and postpositional phrases. Some examples follow to illustrate possible sentence patterns. (V stands for the verbal phrase, at least the portion containing the finite ending; v stands for a non-finite portion of the verbal phrase if any. S, Pt, O, Pc, Oc stand respectively for subject, patient, object, predicative complement, oblique complement— all being positions governed by the verb. Cm stands for circumstantials — not governed by the verb.)

1 /gur + col + ra:tʰ/ 'The horse fled yesterday'
horse+fled + yesterday S + V + Cm

2 / gur + čʰu + ja:n/ 'The horse is good'
horse + is + good S + V + Pc

/ ra:m + cʰu + sapda:n + aj + vuta:vlü/
Ram+is+getting+today+impatient S+V+v+Cm + Pc

'Ram is getting impatient today'

3 / äsⁱ + tari + yapo:r / 'We came this way'
we + came + this-way S + V + Oc

/ ra:m + cʰu + garü +gacʰa:n/ 'Ram goes home'
Ram + is + home + going S + V + Oc + v

4 /ra:mas + čʰe + yi kä:m + su:ja:n/
Ram-to + is + this work + being-liked Pt + V + S + v
/ navkaras + o:s + akʰ tarti:b + su:jmut'
'Ram likes this work'

servant-to + was + one arrangement + become-apparent
'The servant had hit upon an arrangement'
Pt + V + S + v

5 / ra:mas + čʰu + yi ci:j + pasand / 'Ram likes this'
Ram-to + is + this thing + likable Pt + V + S + Pc
/ me + čʰu + yi ci:j + ja:n + laga:n/ 'I find this good'
me-to + is + this thing + good + appearing Pt + V + S + Pc + v

6 me + čʰu + madatuk + ha:jatʰ / 'I 'm in need of help'
me-to + is + help-of + need Pt + V + Oc + S

7 / ra:m + čʰu + aj + batü + kʰyava:n / 'Ram is eating rice today.'

Ram + is + today + rice + eating S + V + Cm + O + v

8 / ra:m + čʰu + aj + bana:va:n + tasbutʰ + kruhu:n /
'Ram is blackening his face'

Ram+is+today+making+his (another's) face+ black

S + V + Cm + v + O + Pc

9 /mä:lⁱ+änⁱ+asi+kita:b/ 'Father brought us a book'

father + brought + us + book
S + V + Oc + O

/ ra:m + c^{h}u + aj + diva:n + tas + pa:^{n} sū/

Ram + is + today + giving + him-to + money S + V + Cm + v + Oc + O

'Ram is giving him money today'

/ me + kor + tas + ra:t^{h} + namaska:r /

I + did + him + yesterday + obeisance

S + V + Oc + Cm + O

'I did obeisance to him yesterday'

In marking off sentence patterns numerically we have ignored the elements v and Cm. There may be sentence patterns other than these nine. The subject of V1 verbs in the perfective sets is in the agentive; every where else the subject is in the nominative. The object (of transitive verbs) can be either in the objective or in the nominative—the details need not detain us here. The patient is always in the objective. The predicative complement is either a noun or an adjective in the nominative. The oblique complement is either a noun in the objective or the ablative or an adverb phrase or a postpositional phrase. The circumstantial is either an adverb phrase or a postpositional phrase. (In this paragraph a noun includes a pronoun.)

While the overt placement of V and v in relation to O, Pc, Oc is reminiscent of Iranian languages, the case-marking and the concord of the verb is reminiscent of Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages.

Adjectives and proadjectives concord with the nouns they qualify. Pronouns concord with the nouns they cross-refer to.

A noun phrase, an adjective phrase, or an adverb phrase may be built round a finite verb. In such cases we speak of such phrases as clauses. Phrases of these three types may also be built round a non-finite verb. The use of such phrases whether they use a finite verb or a non-finite verb, involves the embedding of sentences within sentences. Some examples follow.

/ täm^{i} von zi bü gac^{h}ü paga:h sirinagar/

told that he will-go tomorrow Srinagar

'He said, he 'I will go tomorrow to Srinagar'

/ yi:cü kitabü me pari, ti:cü pari *nü* beyi ka:^{n}si /
as-many books I read, so-many read not else any
'Nobody has read as many books as I have read'

vadüvun mohnyuv c^{h}u ka:m kara:n/
crying man is work doing
'The crying man is doing work'

/ sü ka:m karit^{h} gav /
he work having-done went
'Having done the work he left'

/ ka:m karünay t^{h}okuk^{h} /
work do without you're-tired
'Without doing work you're tired

Sentences may be strung together in coordination through the use of sentence-medial juncture and sentence-tone or of coordinative particles or of other devices.

/gvaḍü a:v ra:jü, patü a:yi darba:r^{i} /
'First came the king, then came the courtiers'

/ me o:s gač^{h}un, magar vvani gac^{hu} nu /
'I was to go, but now I won't go'

Sentence elements may also be similarly strung together in coordination.

/ šur^{i} käṭ^{i} marüd jana:nu sä:ri:cäl^{i} /
'Children, boys, men, women—all fled.'

/ laḍkü tü ko:ri caji / 'Boys and girls ran away.' (Note how the verb concords with the nearest noun in the subject phrase.)

Stylistic and other changes may be rung on a sentence by means of sentence-tones, of emphatic particles like /-üy/ Hindi *hi*'. /tü/, Hindi '*to*', of manipulating word order, of repeating an expression, and of the post-verbal particles of negation etc.

Finally, the sentence structure built around the finite verb may be scrapped altogether and various abbreviated structures may be used such as exclamations, vocatives, answers to questions.

IV

Historical Provenance of Vocabulary Elements

Historically speaking, Kashmiri vocabulary element may be either inherited and thus shared with the sister-languages of the

Dardic group or borrowed with adaptation from various donor languages. The principal donors are, as one might expect, Sanskrit, Persian, and more recently, English. Although the vocabulary of Muslims differs from that of Hindus in respect of its balance between Sanskrit and Persian borrowings (and this is especially true of literary styles), there are a large number of these Sanskrit and Persian borrowings that are common property.

Kashmiri is rich in idioms and proverbs. Though some of these are shared with other Indian languages, others are characteristically of the Valley. The same is the case with names of many elements of flora, fauna, material culture, and custom, which are absent from the plains of North India. This is also true of personal given names of Hindus, family names, and place name elements.

Kinship Terminology

While the historical provenance of vocabulary elements may also have a significance within the contemporary language (for example in stem-formation and in style), what would be even more important and interesting is a systematic descriptive study of Kashmiri vocabulary. By way of a sample, the basic kinship terms may be listed systematically.

Group A

Father	mo:l
Mother	mä:j
Offspring	pu:t:šur (also 'child')
Son	nečuv
Daughter	ku:r^{u} (also 'girl')
Grandfather	buḍ^{i}bab
Grandmother	na:n^{i}
So's So	potur
So's Da	putür
Da's So	jur
Da's Da	jurü

Group B

Brother	bo:y
Sister	beni

Fa's Br pyatür
Fa's Si pvap^h
Mo's Br ma:m
Mo's Si ma:s
Br's So ba:büt^{h}ür
Br's Da ba:vujü
Si's So byant^{h}ür
Si's Da byänjü

Group C

Husband ru:n
Wife ran^i;jana:nü
(also 'woman')
Fa's Br's Wi pečan^i
Fa's Si's Hu pvap^{h}uv
Mo's Br's Wi ma:man^i
Mo's Si's Hu ma:suv
So's Wi nvaš
Da's Hu ja:mutur
Br's Wi bäyka:kan^i
Si's Hu be:mü

Group D

Spouse's Fa hyuhu:r
Spouse's Mo haš
Hu's Br druy
Hu's Si ja:m
Wi's Br hähä:r
Wi's Si sa:l
Hu's Br's Wi dürka:kän^i
Hu's Si's Hu jä:mi:
Wi's Si's Hn säjuv
Offspring's Spouse's Fa son^i
Offspring's Spouse's Mo svanyan^i
Co-wife svan

In addition we may list some prefixed elements.

step- vo:ru-
great- par-
cacerā-ī (Hindi) pitur / -tür (M/F)
phupherā/ -ī (Hindi) pvap^{h}tür / -tür (M/F)
mamerā/ -ī (Hindi) me:mutür / -tür (M/F)
mauserā/ ī (Hindi) ma:sutür / -tür (M/F)

COLOPHON

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The author is alone responsible for intepretation and analysis of data.

On the Grammar of Derived Transitives and Causatives in Kashmiri

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A general problem in the description of Indian Languages is the proper treatment of sets of morphologically related verb-stems which share lexical meaning but govern differing numbers of actants. For example, Hindi *di:khna*: 'to be visible' (one actant). *dekhna*: 'to see' (two actants) *dikha:na:* 'to show (three actants), *dikhva:na*: 'to have someone show (four actants).' The main source of confusion has been that morphological differences do not always make the same semantic differences: compare Hindi *khila:na*: / *khilva:na*: 'to feed / to have (someone) feed, as opposed to *dila:na*: / *dilva:na* /—both meaning 'to have (someone) give'. As we shall see Kashmiri is even more confusing in this regard. Recently considerable progress has been made in establishing an orderly taxonomy of the various possible semantic relations holding among the members of such morphologically related sets (Masica 1976 : 40-107)[1]. In Masica 1976 this taxonomy is most fully worked out and exemplified for Hindi. Hence the authors have found it convenient to describe the transitivity system of Kashmiri in terms of Masica's description of the same in Hindi. While our description does not require a knowledge of Hindi it pays more detailed attention to those areas where Kashmiri differs from Hindi. In addition the Kashmiri system of transitivity is considerably complicated by alternation of dative with nominative case, an alternation which is mediated by a system of ergativity more intricate than Hindi's and a system of pronominal suffixes which is entirely absent from Hindi. The interaction of all these systems provides rich possiblities for analysis within the framework of relational grammar but although we draw some tentative conclusions with respect to typology and syntactic theory the chief aim of the authors of this paper is to give a fairly complete and coherent presentation of the data that would be required for subsequent theoretical discussion.

In addition to a description of the transitivity system of Kashmiri, this paper presents those features of the systems of ergativity, pronominal suffixes and voice that interact with it. The paper is organized as follows:

A. Derived Intransitives (antitransitives)
B. Transitives derived from intransitives
C. The syntax of transitives derived from intrasitives
D. Transitives derived from transitives
E. The syntax of transitives derived from transitives
F. Causatives : morphology
G. Causatives : semantics and syntax
H. Ambiguities in the system
I. Causatives with two intermediary agents
J. Derived transitives and the ergative
K. Causatives and the ergative
L. Transitivity sets and pronominal suffixes
M. Transitivity sets and the passive
N. The paraphrastic causative
O. Compound verbs and the causative
P. Conclusions

A. Derived Intransitives (antitransitives)

In Hindi are found a large number of intransitive verbs which are best dealt with as derivations from transitives. They treat the basic patient as if it were an agent:

darzi:	su:t	si:	raha:	hai
tailor	suit	stitch	-ing	is

'The tailor is stitching the suit'
(Here su:ṭ is the basic patient)

2. su:ṭ sil raha: hai
suit be-stitch -ing is
'The suit is being stitched'
(Here su:t is regarded as if it were agent)

These are termed 'anticausatives' by Masica (although a better name might be 'detransitives'). Formations of this kind are not so widespread in India as other categories of the taxonomy of transitivity. (They are absent, for example, from Marathi). In Kashmiri, too, they are largely absent with two sets of exceptions : (1) A few antitransitives that are apparently borrowings from Hindi-Urdu : chapun 'to be printed' (cha:pun 'to print') and banun 'to be made' (bana:vun 'to make'):

3. prasivo:l chu kita:b cha:pa:n
printer is book printing
'The printer is printing the book'

4. kita:b cha chapa:n
book is being-printed
'The book is being printed'

5. kəši:ri manz chi kə:r'gar kə:li:n bana:va:n
Kashmir in are craftsmen carpets making
'In Kashmir craftsmen make carpets'

6. kəši:ri manz chi kə:li:n bana:n
Kashmir in are carpets making
'Carpets are made in Kashmir'

(2) In Kashmiri phrasal (or "Conjunct" verbs in karun 'to do' have antitransitive counterparts in *gatshun* 'to go': *khatim karun* 'to finish' *khatim gatshin* 'to be finished' *barba:d karun* 'to ruin' *barba:d gatshun* 'to be ruined:

7. me { kər yi kita:b / kor yemi kita:bi hund }[3] yistima:l
I made this book (of) use
'I used this book'

8. yi kita:b gəyi
yistima:l
yemi kita:bi hund gav
this book (of) went use
'This book was used'

The corresponding antitransitives in Hindi have *hona:*, *xatam hona:*, *barba:d hona:*. *istema:l hona:*. But the use, typical in Hindi, of antitransitives in the expression of incapacity is not found in Kashmiri:

9. mujh se yah kita:b xatam nahĩ: hoti:
me by this book finish not be
'I can't finish this book'

Rather, in Kashmiri, incapacity is expressed with the passive or with *hekun* 'to be able' :

10. me chan*i* yiva:n yi kita:b khat*im* karn*i*[4]
to me is not coming this book finish on-doing
'I can't finish this book'

11. b*i* chusn*i* heka:n yi kita:b khatam kərith
I am-not being-able this book finish to-do
'I can't finish this look'

B. Transitives derived from intransitives

Much more frequently encountered in Indian languages is the derivation of transitives from intransitives (and from a limited set of transitives):

12. jangal jal raha: hai
jungle burn -ing is
'The jungle is burning'

13. sipa:hi: jangal jala: rahe hãĩ
soldiers jungle burn -ing are
'The soldiers are burning the jungle'

Here the intransitive is taken as basic since (in contrast to the antitransitive the presence of an (unexpressed) agent is not necessary to the action. Thus in

14. su bema:r chu bala:n
that sick-person is recovering
'That sick person is getting better'

The action of *balun* does not necessarily depend on the intervention of an agent. A morphological alternation of the verb stem signals his presence:

15. ḍa:kṭar chu bema:ras bal*i*ra:va:n
doctor is sick-man curing
'The doctor is making the patient better'

Kashmiri is very rich in formations of this type.[5] There are at least eight phonological patterns relating intransitives to their derived counterparts plus a large class of suppletive sets. These are:

(Ia) Addition of suffix *i*na:v-:

pak/pak*i*na:v	'walk, move/drive'
do:r/do:r*i*na:v	'run/make run'
vad/vad*i*na:v	'weep/make weep'
as/as*i*na:v	'laugh/make laugh'
nats/nats*i*na:v	'dance/make dance'
grak/grak*i*na:v	'boil/make boil'
va:t/va:t*i*na:v	'arrive/deliver'
hɔkh/hɔkh*i*na:v	'dry/make dry'
vuḍ/vuḍ*i*na:v	'fly/make fly'
kho:ts/kho:ts*i*na:v	'fear/frighten'
ḍul/ḍul*i*na:v	'roll (intr .) /roll (tr.)
yi:r/y*i*:rna:v	'float/make float'
beh/beh*i*na:v	'sit down/seat'

(Ib) Addition of -*i*ra:v- with change in vowel of basic stem:
phaṭ/phaṭ:*i*na:v 'drown ; burst/sink ; make burst'

(2a) Addition of -ira:v-

gal/gal*i*ra:v	'melt/make melt'
zev/zev*i*ra:v	'be born/give birth'
phuṭ/phuṭ*i*ra:v	'break (intr.) break (tr.)'
tshen/tshen*i*ra:v	'rip (intr) /rip (tr.)'
bal/bal*i*ra:v	'get better/make better'
tsal/tsal*i*ra:v	'run away/chase away'
krəhən/krəh(ə)n*i*ra:v	'turn black/blacken'
mɔt/mɔt*i*ra:v	'agree/persuade'
nik/nik*i*ra:v	'become thin/cut into pieces'
veth/veṭhira:v	'become fat/fatten'

hɔts/hɔts*i*ra:v	'rot/make rot'
ni:l/ni:l*i*ra:v	'turn blue, bruise/make blue, give a bruise to'

(2b). Addition of -*i*ra:v—with change in vowel (and sometimes consonant),[6] of basic stem (many of which seem to be statives relatable to adjectives):

mat/məts*i*ra:v	'go wild/make wild'
(Compare adj. /mot/ 'mad, crazy, wild')	
tat/təts*i*ra:v	'be hot/heat'
(Compare adj. /tot/ 'hot')	
kal/kəj *i*ra:v	'stammer/make stammer'
(Compare adj. /kol/ 'dumb')	
chat/chətsira:v	'grey /make dray'
(Compare adj. /chot/ 'albino')	
al/əl*i*ra:v	'move (intr .) /move (tr)'
dar/dər*i*ra:v	'be stable/stabilize'
and/ənz*i*ra:v	'come to an end/bring to an end'

(3a) Addition of -a:v- :

ruk/ruka:v	'stop (intr)/stop (tr)'
vɔp*i*d/vɔpida:v	'come up,/grow/raise'
hat/hata:v	'go away/drive away'
əd*i*r/əd*i*ra:v	'get wet/wet, drench'
phas/phasa:v	'get stuck/entrap'
led*i*r/led*i*ra:v	'yellow/make sick'
(compare noun /led*i*r/ 'turmeric')	
tamb*i*l/tamb*i*la:v	'be attracted/attract'

(3b) Addition of -a:v- with change in vowel of basic stem:

vɔzal/vɔz*i*la:v	'blush/make 'red'
(compare with /vɔzul/ 'red')	
ma:n/mana:v	'agree/persuade'

(4) Lengthening of stem vowel (with no addition):

mar/ma:r	'die/kill'
tar/ta:r	'cross/make cross'
gal/ga:l	'melt/make melt'
ḍal/ḍa:l	'move (intr) /move (tr)'

(5) Miscellaneous stem changes:

khas/kha:r	'climb/lift, raise'
pe/pa:v	'fall/trip/make fall'
zar pe/zar pa:v	'become deaf/deafen'

(6) On the basis of semantic and syntactic parallels to pairs belonging to the preceding sets, we can set up the following suppletive pairs:

daz/za:l	'burn (intr) /burn (tr.)
(thod) vɔth/(thod)+ul	'get up /pick up, make stand'
pe/tra:v	'fall/drop'
ne:r/kaḍ	'come out, leave/take out'
ats/tsa:n	'enter/insert, stick in'
yi/an	'come/ bring'
šõg/sa:v	'sleep, lie down/put to sleep, lay down'
tshen/tsaṭ[7]	'break apart (int) cut apart (tr)'

C. The syntax of transitives derived from intransitives

In Kashmiri the categories Ist person and 2nd person interact in assymetric ways with those of agent and patient through a system of pronominal suffixes. In order to avoid the premature introduction of such complexities we will confine our remarks here to just those situations where all the participants in an action are third person. (Since a passing acquaintance, at least, with the system of pronominal suffixes is necessary for an understanding of the interaction of causative and passive in Kashmiri there will be some discussion of first and second person agents and patients in later sections of this paper.

Inanimate agents of basic intransitives figure as patients of the corresponding derived transitives:

16 ga:v cha paka:n
cow is going
'The cow is moving'

17 gu:r chu ga:v paina:va:n
cowherd is cow driving
'The cowherd is driving the cow'

Human agents of basic intransitives usually appear as derived direct objects, in the dative case,[8] in derived transitives:

18 sɔ cha do:ra:n
she is running

19 ma:sṭar chu təmis do:rina:va:n
teacher is to-her making-run
'The teacher is making her run'

D. Transitives derived from transitives

The same set of phonological changes allow the derivation of transitives from transitives:

20 ra:m chu hisa:b para:n
Ram is math studying
'Ram is studying math'

21 b*i* chusan ra:m*i* hisa:b par*i*na:va:n
I am-I him Ram math teaching
'I am teaching Ram arithmatic'

Here both *parun* and *parina:vun* are transitive verbs, yet the latter is not a causative: I am not having Ram do something for me. The true causative is:

22. b*i* chusan ma:sṭaras- athi ra:m*i* hisa:b par*i*na:v*i*na:va:n
I am-I-him teacher through Ram math having taught
'I am having Ram taught math by the teacher'

The set of transitives from which we may derive non-causative transitives has been termed "ingestive" (Masica 1976 : 48). That is, they are either verbs of physical or sensory ingestion ('eat', drink', 'see', 'hear') or verbs of reflexive action : action that is oriented towards the agent ('catch', 'grasp', 'dress oneself' etc.) . Clearly 'ingestion' is nothing more than a special case of 'reflexion' defined in this way.[9] Furthermore in both Hindi and Kashmiri these verbs possess a syntactic peculiarity which sets them apart from other transitive verbs : they do not have compound forms in *dena*: 'give' (in Kashmiri, *d'un*). We have only *kha: le* (kh'ath ni) 'eat', *sun le* (*bu:zith ni*) 'listen', and not *kha: de* (*kh 'ath di*), *sun de* (*bu:zith di*), etc.[10] The list of ingesto-reflexives, not large, includes:

(1) By suffixing -ina:v

1. par/par*i*na:v	'study /teach'
hech/hech*i*na:v	'learn/teach'
bo:z/ bo:z*i*na:v	'hear/narrate'
raṭ/ raṭ*i*na:v	'seize/throw to'
lekh/ lekh*i*na:v	'write/dictate'
ts*i*h/ ts*i*h*i*na:v	'suck/give to suck
tsa:p/ tsa:p*i*na:v	'chew/make chew'
nu:n vuch/nun vuch*i*na:v	'taste/make (someone) taste'
mədre:r vuch/mədre:r vuch*i*na:v	'taste/make (someone) taste (sweet things)
maz*i*vuch/maz*i*vuch*i*na:v	'taste/make (someono) taste'
məhsu:s kar/məhsu:s kar*i*na:v	'experience/ make (someone) experience'
pasand kar/pasand kar*i*na:v	'like/ make (someone) like'

(2) By suffixing -a:v

samij/sam(i)ja:v	'understand/explain'
khe/kh'a:v	'eat/ feed'
ce/ca:v	'drink/give to drink'
m*i*suk he/ m*i*suk h'a:v	'sniff/give to sniff'

(3) On the basis of syntactic and semantic parallels to the above sets, we can set up suppletive pairs:

khe/a:p*i*r	'eat/feed (by hand)'
vuch/ha:v	'see/ show'

(4) In addition there is one pair in which both members are the same:

tshun/tshun	'wear (oneself)/dress (another)'

(Cf. Hindi pahan/pahana:). Kashmiri *tshun* literally means throw, insert, a range of meaning similar to that of Hindi, *ḍa:l*)

(5) Finally there are some expressions in Kashmiri which govern the dative of agent:

23. me cha *yi* kath ya:d peva:n
to me is this thing memory falling
'I remember this'

24. me cha *yi* kath maša:n
to-me is this thing forgetting
'I forget this'

25. me cha šara:rath khasa:n
to me is anger climbing
'I am getting angry'

Here the dative form *me* must be considered the agent because *parun* 'self's' in such sentences can only refer to it:

26. me cha pan*i*nis bə:ys*i*nz kath ya:d peva:n
to me is my brother's thing memory falling
'I remember what my brother said'

Contrast this with:

27. me cha ši:li pan*i*nis bə:ysn*i*z kath vana:n
to me is Shila her brother's thing saying
'Shila's telling me what her brother said'

In this example *me* is not agent and the form *paninis* cannot refer to it.

From such verbs governing dative of agent we may derive transitives:

28. su chu me yi kath ya:d pa:va:n
he is to me this thing memory making fall
'He is reminding me of this thing'

29. sɔ cha me sara:rath kha:ra:n
she is to me anger making climb
'She is making me angry'

The pair *masi/məsria:v* 'forget/make forget' is a bit unusual in that the derived transitive expresses conscious intention to forget while the basic *mas* expresses involuntary forgetting:

30. me cha yi kath masa:n
to me is this forgetting
'I forget this'

31. bi chus yi kath məšira:va:n
I am this thing making forget
'I am/making myself/trying to/forget this'

E. The syntax of transitives derived from transitives

Generally the agent of an ingesto-reflexive transitive is treated as a derived patent (in the dative case) in the corresponding derived transitive:

32. ləḍk*i* chu tsū̆:ṭh kh'ava:n
boy is apple eating
'The boy is eating an apple'

33. mə:j cha ləḍkas tsū̆:ṭh kh' a:va:n
mother is to-boy apple feeding
'The mother is feeding an apple to the boy'

34. ku:r cha ba:l raṭa:n
girl is ball catching
'The girl catches the ball'

35. mo:l chu ko:ri ba:l raṭ*i*na:va:n
father is to-girl ball making-catch
'The father tosses the ball to the girl'

36. b*i* chus sinis nu:n vucha:n
I am to-curry salt seeing
'I'm tasting the curry'

37. mə:j cha me sinis nu:n vuch*i*na:va:n
mother is to-me to-curry salt making see
'Mother is giving me a taste of the curry'

38. ši:l*i* cha palav tshuna:n
Shila is clothes putting-on
'Shila is getting dressed'

39. bəḍ beni cha ši:las palav tshuna:n
big sister is to-Shila clothes putting-on
'Elder sister is dressing Shila'

F. Causatives : morphology

(1a) Causatives are derived from monosyllabic vowel-final transitives by adding the suffix -a:v- :

di/d'a:v	'give/cause to give'
he/h'a:v	'buy/ cause to buy'
ni/n'a:v	'take/ cause to take'

(1b) If a transitive stem, whether basic or derived, ends in a consonant the causative suffix is -*i*na:v:

kar/kar*i*na:v	'do/cause to do'
to:l/to:l*i*na:v	'weigh/cause to weigh'
ganḍ/ganḍ*i*na:v	'tie/cause to tie'
pak*i*na:v/pak*i*na:v*i*na:v	'drive/cause to drive'

nik*i*ra:v/nik*i*ra:vna:v	'cut into pieces/cause to cut into pieces'
təts*i*ra:v/təts*i*ra:vina:v	'heat/cause to heat'
vɔp*i*da:v/vɔp*i*da:vnav:	'raise/cause to raise'
ma:r/ma:r*i*na:v	'kill/cause to kill'
kha:r/kha:r*i*na:v	'lift/cause to lift'
kaḍ/kaḍ*i*na:v	'take out/cause to take out'
par*i*na:v/parna:v*i*na:v	'teach/cause to teach'
sam(i)ja:v/sam(*i*)ja:v*i*na:v	'explain/cause to explain'
kh'a:v/kh'a:v*i*na:v	'feed/cause to feed'
tshun/tshun*i*na:v	'dress/cause to dress'

G. Causatives : Semantics and syntax

Causatives are semantically distinguishable from derived transitives in that the agent of a causative has some intermediary to carry out an action without himself directly participating. Thus in *ca:v* 'give to drink' the agent causes the patient to drink, no doubt. But he directly participates in the action himself. In *ca:vina:v* 'cause to give to drink' the agent has someone else perform the action of getting the patient to drink something. He himself does not participate in the action. On the syntactic level this is reflected in the presence of the post-position *athi* with the noun or pronoun denoting the intermediate agent of a causative.

This post-position never appears with a derived transitive.

40. mə:j cha šuris dɔd ca:va:n
mother is to-child milk giving-to drink
'Mother is feeding the child (its) milk, (derived transitive)

41. mə:j cha beni athi šuris dɔd ca:v*i*na:va:n
mother is to-sister by to-child milk causing to give to drink

'Mother is having sister give the child its milk' (causative)

For discussion of parallel differences in the Hindi transitivity system, see Sahay 1980.

H. Ambiguities in the system

The syntactic difference between a Kashmiri derived transitive and a causative is somewhat obscured by the fact that the post-position *athi* alternates with the simple dative (with some difference in meaning) Compare:

42. su čhu no:kras athi kə:m kar*i*na:va:n
he is to servant by work causing-to-do
'He is having the work done by the servant'

43. su čhu beni kə:m kar*i*na:va:n t*i*
he is to-sister work causing-to-do and
bə:yis n*i*
to-brother not
'He is making sister do the work and not brother'

It is tempting to propose that the semantic difference expressed by the presence/absence of *athi* is the same as that expressed in the choice of passive/active voice. However, it becomes difficult to maintain this interpretation for causatives. in closely related languages (like Hindi) where this choice is more restricted:

44. vah bahan se ka:m karva: raha: hai
he sister by work make-do -ing is
aur na ki bha:i:se
and not (that) brother by
'He is making sister do the work and not brother'
(*vah bahan ko ka:m karva: raha:hai.)

The morphological difference between derived transitives and causatives in Kashmiri is obscured by the fact that, unlike *-va:* in Hindi, Kashmiri's suffix *-ina:v-* does not have an unambiguously causative meaning. It often is used to form derived transitives (see list la in section B and list (1) in section D). The function of *-ina:v-* is further obscured by back formations and analogical formations that lead to doublets and redundant occurrences:

khe/kh'a:v	'eat/ feed'
khe/a:p*i*r	'eat/ feed by hand'

On the basis of the morphological relation between *khe* and *kh'a:v* there is a doublet *a:pir a:pira:v* (i.e. *a:p+ir* resembles *kh'a:v* in meaning; *a:pira:v* resembles *kh'a:v* in form) :

khe 'eat' a:p*i*r 'feed by hand'
———————— : ————————
kh'a:v 'feed' a:pra:v 'feed by hand'

Then on the basis of the doublet *a:pir/a:pira:v* there is also the causative doublet *a:pirina:v/a:pira:vina:v*. Again the presence of causatives like *pakina:vina:v* 'cause to drive' and *hechina:vina:v* 'cause to teach' (where the second occurrence of *-ina:v-* serves to derive a causative from a transitive itself derived by the first occurrence of *-ina:v-*) has led to the formation of causatives in two *-ina:v*'s where only one is needed:

kar*i* na:v/kar*i*na:v*i*na:v	'cause to do'
to:l*i*na:v/ to:l*i*na:v*i*:na:v	'cause to weigh'

This in turn has led to causative doublets formed on those derived transitives that happen not to contain *-ina:v* or *-ira:v*. Thus from *kh'a:v* 'give to eat' and *ca:v* 'give to drink' we have:

kh'a:v*i*na:v/kh'a:v*i*na:v*i*na.v	'cause to feed'
ca:v*i*na:v/ca:v*i*na:v	'cause to give to drink'

and for those few causatives in *-a:v*, there are triplets:

d'a:v/d' a:v*i*na:v/d'a:v*i*na:v*i*na:v 'to cause to give'
n'a:v/n' a:v*i*na:v/n'a:v*i*na:v*i*na:v 'to cause take'

As in Hindi, the causative in Kashmiri may apply either to the derived transitive of an ingesto-reflexive verb, or to the basic transitive of such a verb.[11] Compare:

45. ḍa:kṭar chu ləḍkas ṭhu:l kh 'a:v*i*na:va:n
'Doctor is to-boy eggs having-fed
'The doctor is having the boy feed eggs'
(also has the reading: 'the doctor is having the boy eat eggs')

46. ḍakṭar chu ma:ji ṭhu:l kh'a:v*i*na:va:n
doctor is to-mother eggs having-eat
'The doctor is having the mother eat eggs'
(also has the reading the doctor is having mother feed eggs. ')

The presence of *athi*, however, is an unambiguous signal of the causative:

47. mo:l chu necivis ba:l raṭ*i*na:va:n
father is to-son ball making-catch
'Father is tossing the ball to his son'

48. mo:l chu necivis athi ga:ḍi raṭ*i*na:va:n
father is to-son by fish making-catch
'Father is having his son catch fish'

I. Causatives with two intermediary agents

These are typologically extremely rare among the world's languages. Examples can be contrived for Kashmiri.

49. ra:m*i* chu kart*i*na:va:n/ kart*i*na:v*i*na:va:n
Ram is causing to cause -to-do
mohn*i*ni zəriyi šha:mas(athi) s'aṭha: kə:m
Mohan's through to-Shyam(by) much work
'Ram is having Mohan make Shyam work a lot'

Note that the number of *-ina:v-* suffixes do not correlate with the number of intermediate agents (causées).[12]

J. Derived transitives and the ergatives

One of the areas where Kashmiri syntax shows a sharp divergence from Hindi is in the interaction of the transitivity system and the ergative. Like Hindi, Punjabi, Marathi and others, in the simple past of transitives (or, more precisely, in any tense derivable from the OIA past passive participle Kashmiri has the verb agree not with the agent but with the patient:

50. asi vuch kita:b
(by)us saw book
'We saw the book'

Here the form *vuch* is feminine singular third person to agree with *kita:b*. Compare this with:

51. asi vuchukh ts*i*
(by) us saw you
'We saw you'

Here the form *vuchukh* is masculine singular second person to agree with *tsi* 'you'. This agreement in person is already different from Hindi and others. Now if a transitive is derived from a transitive, the verb may agree, not with the patient, but with whatever would have been the agent in the corresponding underived transitive:

52. asi par*i*nə:v ku:r hisa:b
(by) us taught girl math
'We taught the girl math'

Here the form *parinə:v* is feminine singular third person to agree with *ku:r*, and not masculine singular third person to agree with *hisa:b*. Compare this with:

53. asi par*i*no:v ləḍk*i* jagra:phi:
(by) us taught boy geography
'We taught the boy geography'

Here the form *parino:v* is masculine singular third person to agree with *ləḍki*, and not feminine singular third person to agree with *jagra:phi:*. Only by putting (or leaving) *ku:r* and *ləḍki* in the dative can we have the Hindi pattern (except that, as in Marathi, a second agent has an effect on the verb form, too) :

54. asi par*i*no:v ko:ri hisa:b
'We taught the girl math'

55. asi par*i*nə:v ləḍkas jagra:phi:
'We taught the boy geography'

In other words, Kashmiri seems to promote that in Hindi would be a derived indirect object to grammatical "Subject" (for the purpose of verbal agreements). If this happens then the other, basic patient (hisa:b, jagra:phi: (which in Hindi and Marathi, for the purpose of verb agreement in ergative tenses, is treated as subject, in Kashmiri is demoted to the status of "chômeur" (in other words, it can no longer control grammatical processes). The interesting thing is that this happens only with those datives which accompany derived transitives and are, thus, themselves derived. If dative is a basic indirect object or basic recipient then it cannot control ergative agreement:

56. asi dits ləḍkas kita:b
we gave the boy a book

Here *dits* must agree with *kita:b* (feminine singular) and *ləḍki* must be in the dative. This restriction shows up strikingly in a comparison of suppletive and derived pairs. For instance, the pair *vuch/ha:v* (Hindi: *de:kh/dikha:* is suppletive while *bo:z/bo:zina:v* (Hindi: *sun/suna:*) is not:

57. as*i* vuch philim
'we saw the film'

58. as*i* bu:z kath
'We heard the story'

59. ləḍkan hə:v asi philim
'The boy showed us the film'

60. ləḍkan bo:z*i*nɔ:v' əs' kath
'The boy told us the story'

Here *hə:v* 'showed' must agree with *philim* (with *asi* in the dative) whereas *bo:zinə:v'* may agree with *əs'* in the nominative, or with *kath* when *asi* is left in the dative:

61. ləḍkan bo:z*i*nə:v asi kath
'The boy told us the story'

K. Causatives and the ergative

In section 'J' we have seen how Kashmiri may treat as patient what other northern and western Indo-Aryan Languages invariably treat as indircet objects. In this section we shall see that in causatives Kashmiri may treat as patient what other Indo-Aryan languages usually treat as instrument: In Kashmiri one may say:

62. təm' kar*i*nə:v no:kras athi kə:m
(by) him caused-to-dɔ servant by work
'He had the work done by the servant'

but one may also say:

63. təm' kar*i*no:v no:kar kə:m
(by) him caused-to-do servant work
'He had the servant do the work'

where the form *karino:v* is masculine singular third-person, to agree with *no:kar*, the causée, which in the preceding sentence's regime, comes with *athi*, a postposition which is itself the locative form of *athi* 'hand'. Since using the nominative with the caused agent (no:kar) has a contrastive sense (He made the man-servant work, not the maid') it is likely that it is functioning here in the same sense that the dative of caused agent has in non-ergative tenses (see section G). In contrast with the situation described in section J, the causative form *must* agree with the causée[15] (unless the causée is followed by *athi*).

In causatives formed from transitives derived in turn from transitives we have:

64.	ma:ji	ca:v*i*no vus	b*i* ko:ri	dɔd
	(by) Mother	caused-to-give-to-drink	I to-girl	milk

'Mother had me give milk to the girl'

where *ca:vino vus* is in the masculine singular first person to agree with *bi* 'I', We may also have:

65. ma·ji ca:v*i*nə:v me athi ku:r dɔd

'Mother had the girl given milk by me'

where *ca:vinə:v* is in the feminine singular third person to agree with *ku:r* 'girl'. We may also have :

66. ma ji ca: v*i*no:v me-athi ko:r*i* dɔd

'Mother had the milk given to the girl by me'

where *ca:vino:v* agrees with *dɔd* (masculine singular third person). Finally we may also find (the less acceptable):

67. ma:ji ca:v*i*no:vus b*i* ku:r dɔd

'Mother had me give the girl milk'

which is like the first alternative except that *ku:r* appears in the nominative rather than the dative. The matter worth noting here is that the verb must agree with that nominative which is nearest the initiator or causal agent (here *məj* 'mother') in the chain of causation. Thus in sentence 67, the verb cannot agree with *ku:r* or *dɔd* and in sentence 65, the verb cannot agree with *dɔd*. These nominatives, in sentences 65 and 67 are chômeurs.

L. Transitivity sets and Pronominal suffixes

Kashmiri has a complex system of pronominal suffixes which encode information about the gender, number, and person of the agent, the patient and/or the indirect object in the finite verbal form:

68. kita:b ən' thakh
book brought-it-you-them
'You brought a book for them'

Here the change /an →ən'/ signals a feminine singular third person patient; the presence of /th/ signals a second person singular agent; and the presence of /akh/ signals a third person plural indirect object. In this paper we will confine our attention to the way this system interacts with derived transitives and causatives, and that, too, only for the present tense. (For a more complete description, see Hook and Koul in this volume.)

There are three interlocking (usually contrastive systems of pronominal suffixes. One operates obligatorily but only when the agent is lower (in grammatical person) than the patient : If the agent is second person the patient must be third. If the agent is first person the patient must be either second or third. Patients, if they occur as separate words, must occur in the nominative:

69. b*i* chusath (ts*i*) ana:n
I am-I-you (you) bring ing
'I am bringing you'

Since the identities of both agent and patient are encoded into the verbal auxiliary, it is possible to say merely:

70. ana:n chusath 'I'm bringing you'

Another system encodes person and number of indirect objects, but is obligatory only for second person indirect objects. If indirect objects occur as separate words, they occur in the dative:

71. b*i* chusay (tse) ana:n (or ana:n chusay)
I am-I-you (to-you) bringing
'I am bringing for you'

72. ts*i* chihə:m (me) ana:n (ana:n chihə:m)
you are-you-me (to-me) bringing
'You are bringing me (or for me)'

Also possible here is:

73. ts*i* chukh me ana:n
you are-you to-me bringing
'You are bringing me (or for me)'

where the pronominal suffix for first person singular is not used.

A third system encodes person and number of the agent: the -s- in sentence 69 is for the first person singular and the *-kh-* in sentence 73 is for the secord person singular.

None of these systems of pronominal suffixes may come into play when a third person agent operates on a third person indircet object or patient that is a full noun or pronoun:

74. su chu ra:mas ana:n
he is to-Ram bringing
'He is bringing Ram (or : for Ram)'

A general rule applying to the first two systems of pronominal suffixes is that patients have precedence over indirect objects. If a grammatically specified patient is present, suffix must encode it and ignore any indirect object that is present:

75. ts*i* k'a: chihə:s ha:va:n
you what are-you-her showing
'What are you showing her?'

76. ts*i* chihə:na: su təmis ha:va:n
you are-you-it-Q he for-her showing
'Are you showing him to her? '

In example 75, *k'a:* 'what' is an unspecified patient (in Hindi, it could not get *ko*) In 76, *su* 'he (him)' is a specified patient (in Hindi, it would get *ko*) . Inanimate patients may occur either as grammatically specified or not, so we may have:

77. ts*i* chihə:sa: yi kita:b ha:va:n
you are-you-her-Q this book showing
'Are you showing her this book? '

Kashmiri usually treats all animate (especially human) patients as specified.

In section K we saw that the ergative interacted with causatives in such a way as to give either two (for most causatives) or four (for causatives of transitives derived from transitives) alternate case regimes in the simple past. Similarly the pronominal suffixing systems interact with the causative to produce two or three alternate cause regimes in any tense formed with the auxiliary *a:sun* 'to be'. We illustrate here a complex situation: the three case regimes found for causatives of transitives derived from "ingestive" transitives:

78. b*i* chusan tse-ath*i* ra:m*i* tse:r*i* kh'a:v*i*na‘va:n
I am-I-him you-by Ram apricots causing-to-feed
INSTR NOM NOM

'I am having Ram feed apricots by you'

79. b*i* chusath ts*i* ra:mas tse:r*i* kh'a:v*i*na:va:n
I am-I-you you to-Ram apricots causing-to-feed
NOM DAT NOM

'I am having you feed apricots to Ram'

80. b*i* chusath ts*i* ra:m*i* tse:r*i* kh'a:v*i*na:va:n
I am-I-you you Ram apricots causing-to-feed
NOM NOM NOM

'I am having you feed Ram apricots. (Less acceptable)

In regime 78 the pronominal suffix *-an* is in effect replacing the dative suffix *-as* that would otherwise come with the derived patient *ra:mas*, while in regime 79 the pronominal suffix *-ath* is replacing the dative form *tse* of *tsi*. Regime 80 with the nominative form for both *tsi* and *ra:mi*, is the hardest to explain. The absence, however, of regime 81, namely:

81. *b*i* chusan tse ra:m*i* tse:r*i* kh'av*i*na:va:n
I am-I-him to you Ram apricots causing-to-feed
'I am having you feed Ram apricots'

suggests that the pronominal suffix must always encode person and number of that patient which is nearest the ultimate causal agent in the chain of causality (although it is still possible for remaining patients to get the nominative). This is another way of saying that pronominal suffixation is a cyclical operation, a position forced on us by the appearance of the nominative *ra:mi* in regime 80.

M. Transitivity sets and the passive

The passive in Kashmiri is formed with the ablative form of the infinitive plus a conjugated form of the auxiliary verb 'to come' (compare similar constructions in Marathi and Gujarati):[4]

82. yi kə:m cha yiva:n karn*i*
this work is coming to-do-ABL
'This work is being done'

As one might suspect from the discussion in sections K and L, Kashmiri again differs from other Indian languages in allowing a number of alternatives in the passivization of a causative sentence. Taking a rather more complex instance:

83. b*i* chusan tse-ath*i* ra:m*i* tse:r*i* kh'a:v*i*na:va:n
I am-him you-through to Ram apricots causing to feed
'I am having you feed Ram apricots'

We find the following passive alternatives:

84. ts*i* chukh yiva:n ra:mas tse:r*i* kh'a:v*i*na:v*i*n*i*
you are coming to Ram apricots on causing to feed
'You are being made (by me) to feed Ram apricots'

85. ra:m*i* chu yiva:n tse-athi tse:ri kh'a:v*i*na:v*i*n*i*
'Ram is being caused (by me) to be fed apricots by you'

86. tse:ri ch*i* yiva:n tse-athi ra:mas kh'a:v*i*na:v*i*n*i*
'Apricots are being caused (by me) to be fed to Ram by you'

From this set of sentences, it would seem that the derivation of alternate case regimes through the pronominal suffixing system neither predicts nor is predicted by the promotion of patient (or derived indirect object) to subject of a passive sentence. It is true that sentence 84 can be considered the passive equivalent of sentence 79 in section L and sentence 85 here can be related to sentence 78 in section L, but the passive counterpart of sentence 80 in section L is not grammatical:

87. *ts*i* chukh yiva:n ra:m*i* tse:r*i* kh'a:v*i*na:v*i*n*i* ; and sentence 86 in this section has no direct active counterpart:

88. ? b*i* chus tse-athi ra:mas tse:ri kh'a:v*i*na:va:n

While this sentence is not absolutely ungrammatical, some pronominally suffixed version (i. e., 78, 79, or 80 of section L) is much to be preferred. This means that pronominal suffixing must come after choice of voice. Furthermore, it seems that passive blocks the formation of pronominal suffixes:

89. b*i* chus yiva:n tse tse:r*i* kh'a:v*i*na:v*ini*
'I am being made (by someone) to feed you apricots'

While *bi* is the patient [of CAUSE] it is the agent of feeding, *tse* is the patient of feeding. In such a situation (at least, in active sentences) the first pronominal suffixing system must apply:

90 b*i* chusath ts*i* tse:r*i* kh'a:va:n

91 *b*i* chus tse tse:r*i* kh'a:va:n

but for 89 it cannot apply:

92 * b*i* chusath ts*i* tse:r*i* kh'a:v*i*na:v*ini* y*i*va:n

Thus we may conclude that the system of pronominal suffixes of agent is restricted to situations where the subject is an independent agent and not also the patient [of CAUSE].

N. The paraphrastic causative

In view of the complexities and ambiguities of the morphological causative it is not surprising that Kashmiri has developed a competing paraphrastic construction based on the auxiliary verb *h'on* 'to get' and the conjunctive participle of the main verb:

93. məzu:ran hets me ciṭh' pərith
worker (ERG) took to-me letter having-read
'The worker had me read the letter (for him)'

The causative suffix *-ina:v-* does not generally figure in the parphrastic causative. In this and in the use of a verb meaning 'to get' or 'to take' as auxiliary Kashmiri shows another syntactic parallel with Marathi:

94. ka:mga:ra:na ma:jhya:kaḍun patr
worker(+ ERG) me-by letter
va:tsun ghetla
having-read took
'The worker got me to read the letter (for him)'

(The difference, of course, is in the use of an instrumental postposition in Marathi as opposed to the dative in Kashmiri for expression of causée).

The paraphrastic causative, when used with *-ina:v-*, provides a way of filling the gap in the morphological causative system discussed in section I (causatives with two intermediary agents):

95. təm' hets m'a:ni zəriyi ra:mas kə:m
she took of me by-means to-Ram work
kar*i*nə:v*i*th
having-caused-todo
'She had me get Ram to do the work'

However, it cannot be used when A causes B to do something for B's (rather than A's) benefit:

96. ḍa:kṭar chu me ma:z kh'a:v*i*na:va:n
doctor is to-me meat causing-to-eat
'The doctor is having me eat meat'

Furthermore, the paraphrastic causative does not interact with the systems of pronominal suffixes in the same manner as the morphological causative : In particular where the first system (See section L) is obligatory for morphological causatives:

97. b*i* chusath ts*i* kɔkur ma:r*i*na:va:n
I am-I-you you chicken causing-to-kill
'I am having you slaughter the chicken'

for the paraphrastic system it is blocked:

98. b*i* chus tse kɔkur mə:rith heva:n
I am-I to-you chicken having-killed getting
'I am getting you to slaughter the chicken'
(* b*i* chusath ts*i* kɔkur mə:rith heva:n)

What this means is that the morphological causative system treats the causée as a patient while the paraphrastic causative does not. This can perhaps be related to the fact that the paraphrastic system does not involve a derivation of a morphologically and semantically more complex verb stem from a simpler one (compare the syntactic differences in the pairs *bo:z bo:zina:v* and *vuch/ha:v* in section J with those in the pairs *ma:r/ma:rina:v* and *ma:rmə:rith he.* From this it also follows that a given paraphrastic causative in the active will have only one counterpart in the passive:

99. kɔkur chu tse (athi) mə:rith hen*i* yiva:n
chicken is to-you (by) having-killed in-taking coming
'The chicken is being gotten killed through you'

(*ts*i* chukh yiva:n kɔkur mə:rith hen*i*)

O. Compound verbs and the causative

Unlike any other South Asian language examined in this regard, Kashmiri requires the causative suffix to be added to the vector, and *not* to the main, if the verb is compound.

100. ku:ḍ*i* tshun-um trə:vith
garbage threw-1SG throw-away
'I threw out the garbage'

101. ku:ḍ*i* tshun-*i*nə:-v-*i*m ku:r trə:vith
garbage threw-CAUSE-1SG girl throw-away
'I had the girl throw out the garbage'

102. *ku:ḍ*i* tshun-im ku:r tra:v*i*nə:vith
garbage threw-1SG girl throw-away-CAUSE
'I had the girl throw out the garbage'

This property may follow from the compound verb constructions of relatively marginal status in Kashmiri.

P. Conclusions

With the data examined so far we are able to draw conclusions, fairly firm ones, in the context of the typology of South Asian languages, and with consequences for general syntactic theory, more tentative ones.

Kashmiri differs syntactically from Hindi-Urdu and other New Indo-Aryan languages known to the authors in the occurrence in it of what relational grammarians (at one time, at least) called chômeurs: when the actant which with reference to the basic verb is agent corresponds (or in dynamic terms, gets promoted) to patient, this non-basic (or derived) patient possesses (or assumes) the syntactic privileges of patient while the basic patient is found not to have (loses) them. Thus in:

103. ək' zən' bo:zion:v ra:m*i*kath
by-one by-person told he Ram story

'Some one told Ram a story'

the derived subject (*not* agent) *ra:mi* controls the verbal desinence (masculine singlar) . The other nominative *kath* 'story' cannot control the desinence unless *ra:mi* remains unpromoted, as in:

104. ək' zən' bo:z*i*nə:v ra:mas kath
by-one by person told-it to-Ram story

'Someone told Ram a story'

where the verb form is in the feminine singular to agree with derived subject (again, *not* the agent) *kath*. The creation of chômeurs can be found as well in the system of pronominal suffixes (section L) and in the system of voice (section M). In this Kashmiri is unique among new Indo-Aryan languages: while the presence of chômeurs is characteristic of English, the only other Indian language we know to have them is Sanskrit (see footnote 13).

The second syntactic feature that distinguishes Kashmiri from other Indo-Aryan languages is the covert contrast between basic and derived indirect objects. In Hindi, a step up in transitivity creates indirect objects out of basic agents:

105. bacce ne roṭi: kha:i:
boy ERG bread ate

'The boy ate bread'

106. naukar ne bacce ko roṭi: khila:i:
servant ERG boy to bread fed

'The servant fed the boy (lit : to the boy) bread'

In Hindi, the derived indirect object *bacce ko* 'to the boy' is usually treated syntactically in the same way as basic indirect objects are treated. Like them, for instance it cannot become the subject of a passive sentence[14].

107. * bacca: roṭi: khila:ya: gaya:
'The boy was fed (his) food'

108. * bacca: kita:b diya: gaya:
'The boy was given a book'

In Kashmiri, however an indirect object that is, with reference to a basic verb, an agent, still retains the privilege of being able to be made a subject.

109. ləḍk*i* a:v tsoṭ kh'a:v*ini*
boy (NOM) came bread fed
'The boy was fed bread'

(Compare: tsot a:yi ləḍkas kh'a:v*ini*
'The bread was fed to the boy')

where the finite verb agrees with the basic patient *tsoṭ* 'bread' (fem. sg.). Basic indirect objects, as in all of Indo-Aryan (but unlike English) cannot be made subjects:

110. *ləḍk*i* a:v tsoṭ d*ini*
'The boy was given bread'

Rather, in Kashmiri, as in Hindi basic indirect objects must leave control of the verb form to some other actant:

111. ləḍkas a:yi tsoṭ d*ini*
'to the boy was given bread'
bacce ko roṭi: di: gai:

For general syntactic theory, the behavior of the causative in Kashmiri has consequences, too. In particular, it casts doubt on the concept of prelexical transformations and supports the autonomy of syntax and the integrity of the lexeme. For the generative semanticist, the derivation of *ha:vun* 'show' from *vuchun* 'see'+[CAUSE] is no more or less complex than that of *bo:zina:vun* 'tell' from *bo:zun* 'hear'+[CAUSE]. But, in Kashmiri the syntactic properties of these two differ in a way that parallels the obvious morphological difference that *bo:z+na:vun* is a derived form of *bo:zun* while *ha:van* is not a form derivable from *vuchun*. As a consequence the indirect object of *ha:vun* is not derived syntactically from the agent of *vuchun* while the indirect object of *bo:zina:vun* is a derivate from the agent of *bo:zun* as shown in its capacity to be promoted to subject (=to assume subject properties).

112. me bo:z*i*no:v ra:m*i* kath
by-me told-he NOM story
'I told Ram a story'

113. * me ho:v ra:mi philim
'I showed Ram a film' (see section J)

114. b*i* chusath (ts*i*) kath bo:z*i*na:va:n
I am-I-you you NOM story telling
'I am telling you a story'

115. * b*i* chusath (ts*i*) philim ha:va:n
'I am showing you a film.' (see section L)

116. ra:m*i* chu kath bo:z*i*na:v*i*n*i* y*i*va:n
Ram is story told being
'Ram is being told a story'

117. * ra:m*i* chu philim ha:v*i*n*i* y*i*va:n
'Ram is being shown a film.' (see section M)

In short, this data from Kashmiri would appear to provide further arguments against the derivation of *kill* from [CAUSE] + *die*.

FOOTNOTES

* This paper was first drafted at the University of Kashmir Srinagar, in the spring of 1979. The authors wish to express their gratitude to Prof. Rahman Rahi, Head, Department of Kashmiri for his interest and for his assistance in making the facilities of the University available to them. It was later completed in 1981 at the Northern Regional Language Centre, Patiala. The key to the abbreviations used here is given in footnote 1 of our other paper in this volume.

1. The term "morphologically related sets" we owe to Shapiro 1976. In this paper we call his morphologically related sets "transitivity sets". A preliminary description of causation in Kashmiri may be found in Koul 1977 : 48-9. Masica 1976:64 has some general typological observations.

2. By *regarded* is meant 'treated syntactically'. For detailed discussion of this point for Hindi, see Hook 1979:177-180 and Chaturbhuj Sahay 1976.

3. In the optionality of *hund* here, Kashmiri shows that like Hindi it has disappearing genitive of patient. See Hook 1979:148-9.)

4. The use of an oblique case of the infinitive together with a finite form of a verb usually meaning 'to come' is a frequent construction for the passive voice in Gujarati (Joshi 1980) and in Marathi.

e ka:m karva:-mã: a:ve che (Guj)
he ka:m karnya:t yet a:he (Mar)
this work doing-in comes is
'This job is being done'

and is to be found occasionally even in Hindi:

xuda:ki: xu bsu:rti: baya:n karne me nahĩ: a:ti
God's beauty describe doing in not comes.
'The beauty of the Lord cannot be described'

5. Grierson (1973, vol I, pp 61-2) provides one or two rules for predicting which kind of roots get which kind of affix : 1) polysyllabic roots get *-a:v-* (transcriptions ours, not his) and 2)

Verbs of the third conjugation get *ira:v* (or *-ir-*). While we have found no counter examples to the first of these rules it should be kept in mind that many monosyllabic stems also get *-a:v-* (see sets 3a and 3b). The second rule while not wrong (see sets 2a and 2b) is less helpful since the 3rd conjugation is defined as all intransitive verbs minus some 65 items which belong to the second conjugation (Grierson 1973:42). We have not found any transitives which are derived from intransitive by the addition of *-ir-*. (For the record, Grierson's example is *te:z/tizir* 'be sharp/sharpen' although he gives *ti:zira:v* 'sharpen' as well).

6. For a general account of consonant alternation in Kashmiri phonology see Christopher Shackle's paper in this volume.

7. Some intransitives (like pe 'fall' and tshen 'rip' ; break) which have more than one meaning, have different transitive counterparts in each of those meanings, thus, *pe/pa:v* refers to the falling/tripping of human beings while *pe/tra:v* refers to the falling/dropping of inanimates.

8. In having the same case for both indirect objects and specific (especially human) direct objects Kashmiri adheres to a wide-spread areal pattern which includes the languages of India as well as many of those to the west. (See Masica 1981). The difference between a true indirect object and a human direct object appears only covertly, in, for example, the ability of a human direct object to occur as the (derived) subject of a verb in the passive voice. This is impossible for true indirect objects. Thus in Kashmiri we may have:

b*i* chus ma:rn*i* yiva:n
I am-I killing-on coming 'I am being killed'

as a passive equivalent of:

ma:ra:n chim
killing are-they-me 'They are killing me.'

but never in Kashmiri, can a true indirect object be subject:

*bi chus kita:b dini yiva:n
I am-I book giving-on coming
'I am being given the book.'

as a passive equivalent of:

kita:b chim diva:n
book are they-me giving
'They are giving me the book.'

(Note that this restriction does not apply to English.) For the same phenomenon in Hindi see Hook 1979:120.

9. However, the category "ingestive", which can be considered more than a convenient porte-manteau, has provoked objections. See Klaiman 1981. Masica's term has a venerable antecedent in Panini's *pratyava-sānārtha*. See *Aṣṭādhyāyī* I.4.52.

10. This observation was made, for Hindi, by Kachru 1971:86, and by Sahay 1980:8. There are, of course, some apparent exceptions. In both Hindi and Kashmiri it is possible to say *dekh de* (*vuchith di*). 'see +GIVE' but this is not in the meaning of 'See' but only in the meaning 'look for (something for somebody)'.

11. This use of the causative is found in Hindi:
ḍa:ktar mujhe keval phal khilva: rahe hã*i*
doctor to me only fruit have-eat -ing is
'The doctor has me on a fruit diet '

For other examples see Hook 1979:209, and Sahay 1980:9.

12. This point is not made clear in Kachru 1973:155 where it is stated that "there are two degrees of causativization in Kashmiri" and where the examples imply a one-to-one correspondence between the number of *-ina:v* suffixes and the degrees af causativization.

13. In this kind of restriction Kashmiri appears to have preserved syntactic constraints on the causatives that are described by the Sanskrit grammarians. Thus when L (the finite verbal affix) expresses (or agrees with) a *karman* (object) and if there are two such, one original and one derived then the derived one is selected:
swāminā māṇavakah kaṭam akāryata
by-master boy-NOM rug-Acc was-made-to-make
'The boy was made to make a rug by his master', and not:
* swāminā māṇavakam kato 'kāryaṭa
by-master boy-ACC rug-NOM was made-to-be-made
'The rug was made by the master to be made by the boy.'

See *padamañjari* ad *Aṣṭādhyāyī* I.4. 51:*aṇyantāvasthāyām kartur ṇyantāvasthāyām karmaṇaḥ sato bhidhāne lādīn āhuḥ* 'The verbal affixes are to express that patient in a causative (or derived transitive) which is the agent of the corresponding basic verb.'

14. There is, perhaps, an exception to this to be found in a Hindi sentence type whose theoretical importance would not have occurred to the authors except in the context of a Kashmiri-Hindi contrastive study. In Hook 1979:148 the sentence-type

(a) bacca: mujh se kha:na: nahĩ: kha:ta:
boy me from food not eats

'The boy does not eat his food from me'

was proposed as the antitransitive equivalent of:

(b) mãi bacce ko kha:na: nahĩ/ khila: sakta:
I boy to food not feed can
'I am unable to feed the boy his food'

Assuming the correctness of this semantic equation, it becomes possible to see in it a trace of a syntactic distinction between basic indirect objects and derived ones in Hindi, since, if antitransitives are to be derived from transitives, then the subject of sentence (a) is a syntactic derivate of the indirect object of sentence (b). When, in Hindi, as in Indo-Aryan in general, basic indirect objects cannot be promoted to subject, this instance of promotion must depend on the indirect in sentence (b) being one derived from a basic agent. Observations tending toward the same conclusion are to be found in Sahay 1980. Note in particular the line quoted by Sahay from a song:

mãi pi:ta: nahĩ: pila:ya:gaya:hũ:
I drink not ma make-drink gone am
'I don't drink; I have been made (forced) to drink

However, this construction appears to be facilitated by the absence of an overt patient of *pi:* (such as *shara:b* (liquor).

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Pronominal Suffixes and Split Ergativity in Kashmiri

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Pronominal suffixes encoding information about person, number, case and case relation of associated nominals onto the finite element of the verb are a characteristic feature of a number of northwest Indo-Aryan languages: Sindhi (Khubchandani 1962, Varyani 1977) Siraiki (Shackle 1976) Lahanda (Bhatia 1974), Hindko (Shackle 1980), etc. Of these, Kashmiri seems to have the most complex system of all, a system which defied two early attempts to give a traditional *vaiyākaraṇik* analysis by sutra (Kaula 1898, Grierson 1898). Later in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Grierson presented a brief account by paradigm (1919 : 312ff). Recently Bhat (1979) has given a description which is largely by item-and-arrangement. All of these are unsatisfactory because their authors do not sufficiently distinguish categories of form (case or *vibhakti*: nominative, accusative, dative, etc.) from those of function[1] (*Kāraka* or case relation: agent, patient, recipient, etc.). A clear distinction between these two classes of terms is a minimal prerequisite to demonstrating the rather elegant way in which the systems of pronominal suffixes in Kashmiri serve to reconcile the contradictions inherent in languages having agreement systems which are partly ergative-absolutive and partly nominative-accusative.

A finite verb form in Kashmiri, while always showing agreement for number (and often for gender, too), with some associated nominal may contain any number of pronominal suffixes, from zero (a) to a maximum of three (b or c), showing agreement for person and number simultaneously: [2]

a. tim ch-i təmis tɔhi niš so:z-a:n
they (NOM) be-PL he (DAT) you (DAT) near send-ing
'They are sending him to you'

b. b*i* ch-u-s -an -av su tɔhi niš so:z-a:n
I (NOM) be-M-1SG-3SG-2PL he (NOM) you (DAT) near send-ing 'I am sending him to you'

c. so:za:n chusanav 'I am sending him to you'

Taken one by one, these suffixes show a good deal of defectivation, overlap and ambiguity. This gives the impression of capricious changes in form and function depending on the tense or mood of the associated verb:

d. yo:r on-u-th 'You brought it here.'
e. yo:r an-a-th 'I' ll bring you here'
f. yo:r on-u-kh 'I brought you here'
g. yo:r an-a-kh 'I' ll bring them here'
h. yo:r on*i*:h-as 'They brought me here' or 'They brought it for him'
i. yo:r on-u-m 'I brought it here'
j. yo:r an-u-m 'Bring me here' or 'Bring it here to me'

However, the upper limit of three suffixes per form and the lack of ambiguity in such maximally complex forms permits us to establish three contrasting sets of suffixes. Because none of these sets shows an absolutely one-to-one correlation with any formal *or* functional classification of associated nominals we will refer to them for the present by arbitrary colour names: green, white and gold. Discrepancies between the forms set forth here and those that appear in the example sentences have mostly to do with morphophonemic alternations which we are not concerned with here.[3] Following are the three classes of Pronominal suffixes

	green	white	gold
1SG	-s	-m	-m
2SC	-kh	-y	-th
3SG	(-n)	-s	-n
1PL	ϕ	ϕ	ϕ
2PL	-v(*i*)	-v(*i*)	-v(*i*)
3PL	(-kh)	-kh	-kh

Distributions, functions and syntactic properties will first be described for each of these sets.[4] Then we show how all of them work together to repair, in part, the systemic dissonance that results from the presence of "split ergativity" in Kashmiri.

1. Green suffixes

These are used in past tenses of all verbs and in the present tense of the verb *a:s-* 'be':

k. b*i* go:s, ts*i* go:kh, su gav, əs' gəyi, toh' gəyiv*i*, tim gəyi
'I went, you went, he went, etc.'

l. b*i* chus, ts*i* chukh, su chu, əs' chi, toh' chiv, tim chi, 'I am, you are, etc.'

As in most of western Indo-Aryan, verb forms based on the OIA past passive participle show agreement in gender and number with the patients (rather than the agents) of transitives. One effect of the green suffixes is to allow Kashmiri (unlike the rest of Indo-Aryan) to have such forms agree with the patient in person, too:

m. tami on -u -s b*i*
She (ERG) bring-MSGP-1SG I (NOM)
'She brought me'

n. timav ən -i -kh ts*i*
(ERG) bring-FP-2SG you (NOM) they
'They brought you'

The parenthesized forms for the third person, (-n) and (-kh), occur only if a gold suffix also occurs:

o. tɔhi on -i-vo: -n su yo:r
you (ERG) bring-P-2PL-3SG he (NOM) here
'You brought him here'

Thus, the green suffixes could be considered to be absolutive since they agree in person and number with the subjects of intransitives and the patients of transitives when these are in an ergative tense (i.e., a tense formally derived form the OIA past participle). However, while it is true that any noun phrase that is coreferential with a green suffix is in the nominative, not every nominative is coreferential with a green suffix.[5]

2. White suffixes

These agree in person and number with the recipient of a patient or with the one who is benefitted (or harmed) by an action or with the one who is the experiencer of some inner physical or psychological state or with the perceiver in certain predicates of perception:

p. b*i* ch-u-s-ay (tse) palav chal-a:n
I be-M-1-2SG you (DAT) clothes wash-ing
'I am washing clothes for you'

q. ts*i* k'a: ch-a-h-ə:m (me) kar-a:n
you what be-F-2SG-1SG I (DAT) do-ing
'What are you doing to me?/ for me?'

r. yo:r ch-a-s -av (tɔhi) an -*in*'
here be-F-ISG-2PL you (DAT) bring-to (FSG)
'You have to bring me here'

s. yati ch-a-y -a:(tse) sɔ ya:d p'av-a:n
be-F-2SG-M you (DAT) she memory fall-ing here
'Do you miss her here?'

At first it might seem as if white suffixes always correspond to noun phrases in the dative case. However, there are a number of facts that prevent such a generalization:

(1) Often, especially with intransitives, it is not possible to introduce an independent noun:

t. tsi tsal -ihə:-m (*me)
you run -SBJV-1SG I (DAT)
'You would run away from me'

(2) Sometimes a noun phrase may occur but not in the simple dative:

u. b*i* chu s -o:v (*tɔhi) yati
I be-M-ISG-2PL you (DAT) here
'I am here for you'

Here if an independent noun phrase coreferential with the white suffix is at all to be introduced it must be *tɔhi-khə:tri* 'for your sake'. (3) In the third person white suffixes are in fact clitics. That is, they cannot be coreferential with an independent pronoun or noun phrase. Rather, the pronoun or noun phrase refers to the more directly affected recipient while the suffix refers to someone else who is less directly affected:[6]

v. b*i* ch-u-s -as ko:ria: miṭhə:y an -a:n
I be-M-ISG-3SG girl (DAT) candy bring-ing
'I bring the girl candy for her (sake)'

(4) The white suffix can simply refer to the addressee:

w. su vuch -i -v*i* tɔhi filim
he see -3SGT-2PL you (DAT) film
'(I'm telling you) he will (sneak out and) see a movie on you'

White suffixes always follow other suffixes.

3. Gold suffixes

The gold suffix in Kashmiri is co-referential with the agent in ergative tenses and coreferential with the patient in non-ergative tenses. In the former instances it copies features of the agent noun phrase; in the latter, it copies some features of its coreferent but *replaces* its case (see discussion of case lifting below). In ergative tenses, gold suffixes precede green suffixes; in non-ergative tenses they follow. In ergative tenses, gold suffixes are found for every person; in non-ergative tenses, they can be used only if the co-occurring green suffix is *lower* in person (i.e., a second person gold suffix can be used only with a first person green; a third person gold, only with a second or first person green). A pair of examples to illustrate these properties:

y. tse on -(u) -th -as bi yo:r
you (ERG) bring-MSGPST-2SG ISG I (NOM) here
'You brought me here'

z. ts*i* ch-u-s -ath b*i* yo:ran -a:n
you (NOM) be-M-1SG-2SG I (NOM) here bring -ing
'I am bringing you here'

In sentence, y, the gold suffix *-th* refers to the agent; in z, to the patient. In y, it precedes the green suffix *-s*; in z, it follows *-s*. In y, the coreferent noun phrase (*tse*) is independently marked for case; in z, it is reduced to a nominative form (ts*i*). The reciprocal of y with persons and kārakas (case relations) transposed is possible; the reciprocal of z (with nominative of patient) is not (because the person-hierarchy constraint is violated):

aa. me on -(u) -m -akh ts*i* yo:r
I (ERG) bring-MSG-PST-1SG-2SG you (NOM) here
'I brought you here'

ab. *b*i* ch-u-h -ə:m ts*i* yo:r an -a:n
I (NOM) be-M-2SG-ISG you (NOM) here bring-ing
'You are bringing me here'

Instead the white suffix must be used:

ac. ts*i* ch-u-h ə:m (me) yo:r an -a:n
you (NOM) be-M-2SG-1SG I(DAT) here bring-ing
'You are bringing me here'

In ergative tenses gold suffixes are optional for first and third persons:

ad. me chəl-i -(m)-ay palav gari
I (ERG) wash-MPLP-1SG-2SG clothes house (LOC)
'I washed the clothes for you at home'

ae. təm' pər-*i* -(n)-akh kita:b
he (ERG) read-FSGP-3SG-3PL book
'He read them the book'

(Without the gold suffixes, a post-vocalic *a*-deletion rule operates to give *chəliy* and *pərikh* in ad and ae, respectively). For second persons gold suffixes are obligatory in all tenses.[7]

4. Case lifting

The use of gold suffixes in non-ergative tenses permits Kashmiri to preserve the unambiguous expression of case relations without recourse to either word order or case:

ac. b*i* ch-u-s -ath ts*i* yo:r an -a:n
I (NOM) be-M-1SG-2SG you+you (NOM) here bringing
'I am bringing you here'

ag. ts*i* ch-u-s -ath b yo:r an -a:n
you (NOM) be-M-1SG-2SG I (NOM) here bring-ing
'I am bringing you here'

This property must be accounted as highly unusual among the world's languages. It also provides further confirmation for the Paninian position that the nominative is to be analysed as the non-relational (or "default") case; i.e., the case that does not express a kāraka (see Hook 1980-84).

Since Kashmiri treats the intermediate agents of derived transitives and causatives as patients (see Hook and Koul, this volume), gold suffixes lift their cases, too, when the person-hierarchy condition is met:

ah. b*i* ch-u-s -an -av su (tɔhi)
I be-M-ISG-3SG-2PL he (HOM) you (DAT)
palav chal-*i*na:v-a:n
clothes wash-cause-ing
'I am having him wash clothes for you'

Case may be lifted even when more than one intermediate agent is involved (the gold suffix will be that of the person closest to the instigating agent in the chain of causation):

ai. b*i* ch-u -s -ath ts*i* ko:r*i*; bat*i* kh'a:vi-na:v-a*i*n
I be-M-ISG-2SG you (NOM) girl (DAT)
rice feed cause-ing
'I am having you feed the girl rice'

5. The interaction of the split ergative and pronominal suffixes

We have seen that green suffixes are coreferential with nominatives and that white suffixes are usually coreferential with datives (unless they are themselves clitics). Gold suffixes seem least amenable to this kind of correlation: In ergative tenses they refer to noun phrases in the ergative case:

aj. ləḍk-an on -*i*-n -akh ts*i* yo:r
boy-ERG bring-P-3SG-2SG you (NOM) here
'The boy brought you here'

In non-ergative tenses they refer to what would have been a dative had its case not been lifted (compare ak with al):

ak. ləḍk-ch-u-hə*i*-n ts*i* yo:r an -a:n
boy-NOM be-M-2SG-3SG you (NOM) here bring-ing
'You are bringing the boy here'

al ləḍk-as ch-a ku:r an -a:n yo:r
boy -DAT be-F girl(NOM) bring-ing here
'The girl is bringing the boy here'

However, the dative of al. is not a dative of recipient but rather a dative of patient, a dative which corresponds in non-ergative tenses to a nominative in ergative tenses:

am. ləḍk-*i* on ko:ri yo:r
boy-NOM brought girl (ERG) here
'The girl brought the boy here'

In other words, the ergative case together with the dative of patient constitutes the reciprocal of the absolutive: in non-ergative tenses the dative of patient corresponds to the nominative in ergative tenses and in ergative tenses the ergative case corresponds to the nominative in non-ergative tenses. In view of this relationship to the absolutive (=nominative of patient in ergative tenses+nominative of agent in non-ergative tenses+subject of intransitives in all tenses) we shall lump the dative of patient together with the ergative of agent and call it the *anti-absolutive*.[8] It is to this anti-absolutive that the gold suffixes correspond. In effect both the gold and the green suffixes are syntactic categories standing between the morphological category of case (vibhakti) and (at least partly)[9] the semantic category of kāraka (case relation).

When we say "standing between" we are speaking, of course, metaphorically. To speak less metaphorically, let us use the term *mediate* and then show what we mean when we say that the gold and green suffixes "mediate" between morphology (case) and semantics (kāraka). If an entity Y mediates between

X and Z , that means that a relation can be defined that relates it to X and a (usually different) relation can be defined that relates it to Z.

Now we have already seen that we can define a relationship between green suffixes and case, and, by lumping together two non-contrasting sets of forms, define a relationship between gold suffixes and case. (White suffixes involving a fairly straightforward relationship of recipient and dative case will not concern us further here.). We have a relation then between cases and suffixes. What is the relation between kārakas and suffixes?

Because ergativity is not found in every tense, and because of extensive case syncretism, the relation between case and case relation (kāraka) in Kashmiri is even more indirect than it is in other languages. Thus the form *me* can be either agent, patient or recipient:

an. me on su yo:r 'I brought him here'
I brought he here

ao. me an -i su yo:r 'He will bring me here' or
I bring-FT he here 'He'll bring it to me here'

Because the position of noun phrases (unlike that of the finite verb : Hook 1976) is completely determined by discourse factors, initial vs. non-initial position is also no guide to the identity of case relation. Since green suffixes correspond to the absolutive and gold suffixes correspond to the anti-absolutive and each of these is sometimes agent, sometimes patient, it is not immediately apparent what relationship can be defined between kārakas and pronominal suffixes. However, suffixes can be classified not only by their "colours" (which in fact indicate their relationships to case) but also by their relative position (provided suffixes of each colour are present). While white suffixes always come last; green suffixes sometimes come first (ap), sometimes second (aq); while gold suffixes are sometimes second (ap) sometimes first (aq):

ap b*i* ch-u-s -an su to:r so:z-a:n
I (NOM) be-M-1SG-3SG he (NOM) there send-ing
'I am sending you there'

aq. bi ch-u-n -as təm’ to:r su:z-mut
I (NOM) be-M-3SG-1SG he (ERG) there send-PPP
‘He has sent me there’

And it is the *position* of green and gold suffixes which can be directly related to kārakas : the first suffix, be it green or gold, is agent; the second, patient. It is by this simultaneous classifiability with respect to colour and to position that the pronominal suffixes in Kashmiri can be said to mediate between case and case relation and to mend in part, the expressional contradictions inherent in split ergative systems.

FOOTNOTES

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1. The word "function" in this paper refers to both *syntactic* and *semantic* function. Panini's *karakas* are only partly *semantic* in nature (see Cardona 1967) and we intend the same interpretation of "karaka" to apply here.

2. Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	LOC	locative	Qm	question marker
DAT	dative	M	masculine	SBJV	subjunctive
ERG	ergative	NOM	nominative	SG	singular
F	feminine	P	past	1	first person
FT	future	PL	plural	2	second person
INF	infinitive	PPP	past passive	3	third person
PST	past participle				

3. One of the problems we have not investigated here involves the appearance of the long vowels *o*:, *ə*: and *a*: in sequences of suffixes. They are controlled by gender but we have not tried to discover in which sequences such vowels appear and in which not. Nor have we looked at the co-occurrence restrictions and dependencies that hold among suffixes For instance, the "presence" of the first person plural:ϕ - suffix seems to preclude the presence of the third person white suffix in the present but not in the past:

(1) əs' ch-i-v-*i*(*-o:kh) toh' an -a:n (tim-an nish)
we (NOM) be-PL-2PL-3PL you (NOM) bring-ing they - DAT near
'We are bringing you to them'

(2) asi ən -i-v -o:kh toh'
we (ERG) bring-P-2PL-3PL you (NOM)
'We brought you to them'

4. There are constraints that apply to all pronominal suffixes across the board : For instance, suffixes cannot be used reflexively. That is, if the patient or the recipient is coreferential with the agent, then suffixes cannot be used (except for the agent):

(1) panun-pa:n vuch-u-m ə:n -as manz
self see-P-1SG mirror -DAT in
'I saw myself in the mirror'

(2) kursi:ən -i-m pa:n-as kitsh
chair bring-P-1SG self-DAT for (FSG)
'I brought the chair for myself'

5. The presence of the noun phrase coreferential with green suffixes is optional:

(1) gari ch-u-s (b*i*) palav chal-a:n
home (LOC) be-m-1SG I (NOM) clothes wash-ing
'At home I wash clothes'

(2) yo:r k' a:zi ən -i-th -akh (tim)
here why bring-P-2SG-3PL they (NOM)
'Why did you bring them here ?'

6. This sentence could be used, for instance, in a situation where someone, gives candy to a little girl in order to please the mother. Or the speaker could be bringing candy to the mother to give to the child. In either case the independent noun (ko:ri) refers to the inner recipient; i. e. the person who actually consumes the candy; while the suffix (-as) refers to the outer recipient.

7. In non-ergative tenses gold suffixes of the third person tend to be used if they refer to animate patients but cannot be used if they refer to inanimate patients:

(1) b*i* ch-u-s (*-akh) tse gila:s an -a:n
I be-M-1SG-3PL you (DAT) cherries bring-ing
'I am bringing you cherries'

However, in ergative tenses they can be used (with inanimate agents):

(2) k*i*smat-an on -*i*-n -as b*i* yo:r
fate -ERG bring-P-3SG-1SG I (NOM) here
'Fate brought me here'

Using the third person suffix may accomodate both a specific and a non-specific reading of the noun phrases:

(3) b*i* ch-u-s -an lədk-*i* tsha:d-a:n
I be-M-1SG boy-NOM search-ing
'I am looking for a boy (who is lost)'
'I am looking for a boy (to fill this job)'

Compare the uniquely non-specific reading of:

(4) b*i* chus lədk-*i* tshan:d-a:n
I am boy-NOM search-ing
I am looking for a boy (to fill this job)'

8. Kashmiri is not the only language to have a morphological or syntactic process that subsumes the ergative agent and the non-ergative patient in a single category. In Sumerian; the ancient language of southern Iraq, the verb had both a system of suffixes and a system of prefixes. The suffixes agreed with subjects (of intransitives) and with the patients of transitives in ergative tenses and the agents of transitives in non-ergative tenses (cf. the Kashmiri green suffixes). The prefixes agreed with the agents of transitives in non-ergative tenses, exactly like the Kashmiri gold suffixes. See Michalowski 1980 : 93.

9. For discussion of the status of karakas vis-a-vis syntax and semantics, see Cardona 1967 and Hook 1976.

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Word Order in Kashmiri:Some Further Evidence

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1. There have been some attempts in recent studies in transformational generative grammar to pinpoint a relation between word order of a particular language and the type of grammatical transformations that operate in that language. (cf. Ross, 1970; Bach, 197[illegible]; Subbarao, 1978). Kashmiri is a language which exhibits two surface word orders, namely, verb-final and non verb-final. Hook (1976) and Mathew (1976) very convincingly argue that Kashmiri is an underlying verb-final language. The purpose of the present paper is (i) to present a discussion of the studies done in the transformational-generative framework on underlying word order and grammatical transformations and (ii) to present new evidence in support of the claim that Kashmiri is an underlying verb-final language. This evidence is based on the claim that it is only underlying verb-final languages that permit *unbounded* rightward movement.

2. Kashmiri has both verb-final and nonverb-final structures as the following sentences illustrate:

(1) kamalan ceyi ca:y (SVO)
kamal-ERG drank tea
'Kamal drank tea'

(2) māsṭar chu təmis do:*r*ina:va:n (S Aux OV)
teacher is him making run
'The teacher is making him run'

(3) yus ləḍk*i* a:v təmis chu ra:m*i* za:na:n(SV) (O Aux SV)
which boy came him is Ram knows
'Ram knows the boy who came'

2. In this section I shall briefly discuss some of the major studies which attempt to relate underlying word order and grammatical transformations. Ross (1970) claims that languages such as Hindi and Turkish, though they are SURFACE verb-final languages, are UNDERLYING verb-medial languages and that there is a (last cyclic) transformation in Hindi and Turkish, the scrambling rule, which changes the word order from SVO to SOV. i.e.,

$$\text{Underlying SVO} \xRightarrow[\text{Scrambling rule}]{\text{Last cyclic}} \text{surface SOV}$$

Ross postulates a constraint on movement of a constituent, in support of his claim concerning underlying word order in languages such as Hindi and Turkish. He argues that only languages with underlying SVO order have rules of type (4),

$$\begin{array}{lll} (4) & \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots A\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots & X \\ & \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad 1 & 2 \\ & & \Longrightarrow \\ & \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad 0 & 2+1, \text{ where A is a constituent} \\ & & \text{and X a variable} \end{array}$$

which move a constituent to the right of the verb, and languages with underlying verb-final order cannot have such a rule, i.e., they remain verb-final in surface structure. Put differently, if a language has any nonverb-final sentence at all in the surface, then it must be a nonverb-final language in the underlying representation as well.

I have shown elsewhere (Subbarao, 1972) that Ross's claim concerning the universal absence of rules of type (4) would force us to conclude that some irrefutably verb-final languages such as Japanese and Telugu, which have rules of the type (4), should be considered verb-medial languages. I have also argued that 'a transformation which changes the relative order of a verb and a constituent *cannot* be given as an argument to decide underlying word order because such a movement transformation does not provide any evidence whatsoever to draw any conclusions about the undelying word order of a language one way or the other' (Subbarao, 1972 : 1-2). Therefore, Ross's argument that Hindi and Turkish are underlying SVO (verb-medial) languages because they have an Extraposition transformation which moves an embedded sentence to the RIGHT of the verb does not stand.

The second transformation that concerns underlying word order is the rule of Gapping proposed in Ross (1970). Gapping is a rule which deletes the identical occurrence of a verb in coordinated sentences. Gapping can, according to Ross, operate 'forwards' as in sentence (6) form Hindi or 'backwards' as in sentence (7) from Hindi.

(5) ra:m ne ca:y pi: aur ravi ne ka:fi:pī:
Ram ERG tea drank and Ravi ERG coffee drank
'Ram drank tea and Ravi drank coffee'

(6) ra:m ne ca:y pī: aur ravi ne ka:fī (Forward gapping)
Ram ERG tea drank and Ravi ERG coffee

(7) ra:m ne ca:y aur ravi ne ka: fī: pt: (Backward gapping)
Ram ERG tea and Ravi ERG coffee drank

In order to account for the existence of both the phenomena of 'forward' and 'backward' Gapping in languages such as Hindi and Turkish, as opposed to only 'backward' Gapping in languages such as Japanese and Telugu, Ross proposes that Hindi and Turkish are underlying verb-medial languages. Forward Gapping on the structures of the SVO + SVO, maintains Ross, yields SVO + SO accounting for the deletion of the verb on the right. A scrambling rule then applies yielding, SOV + SO as in (6). In order to account for backward Gapping, however, he proposes that the scrambling rule apply first to yield the configuration SOV + SOV. Then, he says, backward Gapping applies, yielding structures of the type SO + SOV as in (7). On the basis of two-way Gapping, Ross concludes that Hindi and Turkish are verb-medial languages.

But. notice that what Ross calls 'forward' Gapping is a phenomenon different from what he calls 'backward' Gapping. If the so called backward Gapping is a true case of Gapping, then there should not be any change in the verb after backward Gapping takes place. But, in languages such as Telugu, the verb should *always* be in the plural and cannot be in singular as the following sentences from Telugu illustrate:

(8) kamala annaw tindi vimala pallu tindi
'kamala' 'food' 'ate' Vimala, 'fruits' 'eat' + fem. sg. past
'Kamala ate food and Vimala ate fruits'

(9) kamala annaw vimala pallu tinnaru
'kamala' 'food' 'Vimala' 'fruits' 'eat' + plural past
'Kamala ate food and Vimala ate fruits'

(10) kamala annaw vimala pallu tindi
'kamala' 'food' Vimala' 'fruits' 'eat' + fem. sg. past

Thus, it can clearly be seen that the so-called backward Gapping is only an instance of Conjunction Reduction. So, no claim about underlying word order can be made on the basis of Gapping, since forward Gapping is the only type of Gapping which may or may not be found in a given language and is indepedent of conjunction reduction.

The second study that I shall discuss is Bach (1971) where the author attempts to show that, among other things, (a) question movement occurs only in non-verb-final languages and (b) such movement is always to the left in a sentence. Bach arrives at this conclusion mainly on the basis of the following two assumptions: (1) An underlying SOV language cannot change to a surface SVO order, and (2) All rightward movement rules are upward bounded. Notice however that the first assumption of Bach is based on Ross's claim that an underlying verb-final language should always remain verb-final, that is, there cannot be any transformation which would change the order SOV (verb-final) to SVO (nonverb-final.) In the preceding section I have shown that this claim is incorrect because underlying verb-final languages such as Japanese and Telugu do have rules of the extrapositional type which yield surface SVO structures.

As far as Bach's second assumption concerning rightward bounded rules, I must first cxplain what an unbounded rule is and the constraint that has been proposed on unbounded rules by Ross in his work *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*. I shall then show that there is evidence to refute such a constraint (Satyanarayana and Subbarao, 1973). I shall then demonstrate that such counter-evidence could be used as positive evidence to relate rightward unbounded movement to underlying word order.

Ross (1967) proposes some constraints on reordering movement rules. Such constraints had to be proposed on reordering rules, for otherwise they are "far too strong", i.e. they will "generate infinitely many non-sentences." (1967 : p. 7). According to Ross (1967) all rightward movement rules are upward bounded, that is, an embedded sentence cannot be moved RIGHTWARDS beyond the sentence in which it occurs. We shall label this constraint the 'Upward Bounded Contraint'. This constraint can schematically be represented as in (11) :

(11) $_{s1}(_{s2}(S_3)_{s2}\ //)_{s1}$

Note that the double lines in (11) represent the bound. S_3 *cannot* go beyond S_2, according to Ross.

Though Ross proposed the Upward Bounded Constraint as a universal constraint, there is evidence from Hindi, Telugu, Bengali to show thot Ross's constraint is far too strong. Such evidence has been presented in Satyanarayana and Subbarao (1973) and in Subbarao (1978). I shall briefly present here evidence from Hindi. Consider sentences (12) and (13) from Hindi:

(12) [[sarita: ke yah ba:t kahte hi:S_3 [ki kutta:
s_1 s_2 bha:g gaya:] s_3] s_2
ran away
Sarita GEN this news right after saying that dog
prasa:d ghabṛa: gaya:]s_1
Prasad panicky became
'Right after Savita said that the dog ran away, Prasad became panicky'

(13) s_1[s_2[sarita: ke yah ba:t kahte hi:]s_2 prasa:d ghabṛā: gaya:
s_3 [ki kutta: bha:g gaya:]s_3]s_1

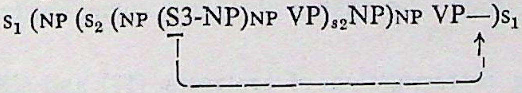
Note that s_3 is moved to the right of s_1 in (13), and such a movement clearly violates Ross's constraint.

It should also be mentioned here that Navajo, an American Indian language, which is genetically quite unrelated to languages such as Hindi, Bengali and Telugu also permits unbounded rightward movement and this language, too, is verb-final.

I shall now discuss the relation between unbounded movement and underlying word order. Notice that languages such as Hindi, Punjabi, Bengali, Telugu, and Navajo are *ALL* verb-final languages. An extraposition transformation moves a sentence in Hindi. Bengali, Punjabi and Telugu to the RIGHT either from the subject position. That is, there is always an intervening verb between the position in which the embedded sentence originates and the position in which it ends up after the application of the extraposition transformation. However, in verb-medial languages which are underlying verb-initial languages according to McCawley (1971), there is nothing intervening between the subject or object where the embedded sentence originates and where it ends up after the application of the extraposition transformation.

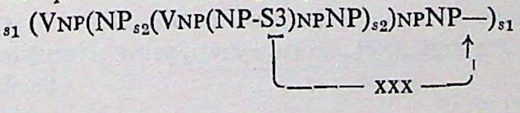
Schematically:

(14) Unbounded extraposition from subject position in SOV languages:



s_1 (NP (s_2 (NP (S3-NP)NP VP)$_{s_2}$NP)NP VP—)s_1

(15) Unbounded extraposition from subject position in verb-initial languages :



$_{s1}$ (VNP(NP$_{s2}$(VNP(NP-S3)NPNP)$_{s2}$)NPNP—)$_{s1}$

The presence or absence of an intervening verb, in my opinion, provides a plausible explanation as to why unbounded right-ward extraposition, if it occurs, is possible in verb-final languages ALONE. It should be emphasized here that it is not claimed here that all verb-final languages must permit unbounded rightward movement. Whether there is unbounded extraposition in a specific verb-final language or not depends on the permitted structural configurations in that language.

The fact that it is only in verb-final languages that the unbounded rightward movement is permitted is of theoretical importance in deciding the underlying word order of a given language. It can be claimed that

(16) If a language permits unbounded RIGHTWARD extraposition, then it must be a VERB-FINAL language.

4. As mentioned earlier, Hook (1976) and Mathew (1976) convincingly argue that Kashmiri should be treated as an underlying verb-final language. We shall now see how the claim regarding underlying word order and unbounded extraposition can be utilized to provide further support to the arguments already provided by Hook and Mathew.

Just as Hindi, Telugu and Bengali permit unbounded extraposition to the right, Kashmiri, too, permits unbounded extraposition to the right. Consider the following sentences from Kashmiri.

(17) ra:mn*i* *yi* vanv*ini:zi* tsu:r a:v khu:ts sarita:
Ram's it as-soon-as saying that thief came took-fright Sarita
'Right after Ram said that a thief had come, Sarita got frightened.

(18) ra:mni yi vanv*ini*. khu:ts sarita:zi tsu:r a:v
Ram's it as-soon-as-saying took-fright Sarita it thief came
'Right after Ram said that a thief had come, Sarita got frightened.

The underlying representation of sentences (17) and (18) is given in (19):

(19)
Ram's that thief came it right-after saying
${}_{s1}({}_{s2}(\text{ra:mni}_{vp}(\text{NP}(\underline{{}_{s3}(\text{zi tsu:r a:v})_{s3}}\ \text{yi})\text{NP}\ {}_{v}(\text{van}+\textit{ini:})_{v}\ {}_{vp})_{s2}$
Sarita took-fright
$\text{Sarita:khu:ts—})_{s1}$

To derive sentence (17) no movements are necessary. However, in order to derive sentence 18 the embedded sentence

S_3, is moved to the RIGHT in S_1 beyond the sentence (s_2) in which it first occurs. Such a movement is a clear example of rightward unbounded movement.

It was claimed above that languages which permit rightward unbounded movement must be underlying verb final languages. Since Kashmiri permits rightward unbounded movement, Kashmiri should be an underlying verb final language.

The question that arises now is : how are some of the nonverb-final structures in the surface structure derived. As discussed in Hook (1976), Kashmiri would require late movement rules to arrive at the nonverb-final surface structures.

5. In conclusion, have presented a summary cf the works done earlier relating grammatical transformations and underlying word order. I have also shown that the claims made in these studies are too strong. I have claimed that it is only the underlyingly verb final languages that permit rightward unbounded movement. On the basis of this claim, it is argued that Kashmiri which permits unbounded rightward movement should be treated as an underlying verb final language.

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Some Further Observations on Kashmiri Word Order*

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In an earlier paper (Hook 1976) I examined the characteristics of word order in Kashmiri in an attempt to show that, contrary to what others have concluded (Grierson, Kachru, Masica), Kashmiri is not like English in its word order[1], nor like Persian[2], nor is it an SVO language[3]. Rather, it is a V-2 language, like High German and some other modern North European languages (see Haiman 1974 for list), in which the finite verb follows, not the subject, but whatever sentence-level constituent comes first, be this a noun phrase (a), an adverb (b), a prepositional phrase (c), a non-finite verb phrase (d), or other (e), (f):[4]

a hu camakvun ta:rukh ch-u-h -an -a: tsɩ vuch-a:n (G 243)
that shining star be-M-2SG-3SG-QM you see -ing
'Do you see that bright star ?'

b ra:th p'av s'aṭha: ru:d (G 1932)
yesterday fell much rain
'It rained a lot yesterday'

c ṭiman-p'aṭh chu-n*i* asi keh yakhtiya:r (G 946)
them on is -not us (DAT) any authority
'We have no influence on them'

d vati apo:r tar -a:n log me kh*ŭ*:th (C 1735)
road (DAT) across cross-ing struck me a-stumbling
'I stumbled while crossing the street'

e ja:n gatshi zi ts*i* ma:n yəm'-sund hukum (G 1223)
better will-go that you obey him -POSS order
'You had better obey his order'

f yeli vəhra:th yiyi, teli va:ya-n b*i* yi kha:h (G 1347)
when monsoon comes, then plough-3SG I this field
'When the rains come, I will plough this field'

In not one of these examples has the subject (whether this be understood as *agent* or as that with which the verb agrees) come first. Accordingly, we must conceive of Kashmiri word order as partly controlled by discourse structure and partly governed by syntax. Thus, the left-to-right order of sentence-level constituents is determined by their relative ranking with respect to old (versus new) informational content much as in so-called 'free word order' languages like Hungarian and Latin. In this regard, Kashmiri word order, like that of many South Asian languages, is highly amenable to analysis by the Functional Sentence Perspective of the Prague School (Firbas, Daneš, Panhuis) or a Hallidayan approach (Prakasam). The position of the finite verbal element, however, is rigidly fixed : In declaratives it is second ; in sentences containing an interrogative word (who, what, when, how, etc.), it is third ; and, in most embedded clauses, it is last (or next-to-last : see Hook 1976 : 138).

Because interrogative words signal demands for new information, we can understand why they rarely appear as the left-most elements in a Kashmiri sentence. (Compare the inability of interrogative words in Korean and Japanese to be followed by topic markers.) That such words usually come second in Kashmiri can be related to the tendency for their counterparts in other South Asian languages to be found in the 'focus position, (Klaiman 1976 : 323) immediately to the left of the verb. Since the finite verb in Kashmiri always follows the leftmost constituent, we can understand why the finite verb comes third in sentences containing interrogative words : The 'focus position', following the finite verb into position two, bumps it into position three.

In other V-2 languages, like German, the finite verb comes at the end of all types of embedded clauses. In this respect, too, Kashmiri shows a greater responsiveness to old vs. new information structuring in its word order rules : Only those embedded clauses where all elements are of the same degree of communicative dynamism have the finite verb at the end. Thus, in relative clauses or in *if*-clauses, where all parts of the clause contain information that is equally 'old' (or, occasionally, equally 'new'), we invariably find a clause-final finite verb. But in those embedded clause types that permit oldness and newness of information to be distributed in varying degrees among constituents we find V-2 rather than verb-final word order:

g tas a:yi saman zi su sapdi -n paga:h ada:ltas -manz hə:zir (G 1720)

him came summons that he appear-JUSS tomorrow court (DAT)-in present

'He's received a summons to appear in Court tomorrow'

In (g) the *zi*-clause does not restrict its head noun nor are the contents of the clause presupposed. Therefore, different elements of the clause may bear different degrees of newness of information. Hence, the word order in the embedded clause is the same as it would be in the corresponding independent clause[5]. By contrast in:

h tim chi timan ṭhag -a:n zi yiman ṭhəgith heka:n chi (G308)

they are them cheat-ing that whom cheat be-able are

'They cheat whom they can'

the contents of the *zi*-clause, 1), restrict the head noun phrase (*timan*) and, 2), are presupposed (i.e., that X cheats Y entails X's being able to cheat Y). Thus, the structure of the embedded clause is, with respect to newness and oldness of information, *flat*: The clause does not include elements with differing degrees of communicative dynamism. The finite verb, therefore comes at the end.

Thus, when compared to that of German, the "V-2ness" of Kashmiri may be considered to be more semantic in its governing conditions: If the sentence-initial element is a "topic" the finite verb follows it. If the first constituent contains information no older (or no more predictable) than that of other constituents, the finite verb remains at the end of its clause.

However, in some other respects, Kashmiri word order shows itself to be less sensitive to the semantic or discourse structural properties of constituents. For instance, in Kashmiri, as in other V-2 languages, co-ordinating conjunctions like *ti* 'and' and *magar* 'but' do not count in determining the position of the finite verb:

i tas chu ga:ṭ*i*ja:r magar təmi:z chu-s -n*i* (G 547)
him is ability but sense is -him-not
'He has ability but lacks discretion'

j su p'av vəsith, *ti* ḍ'ak*i* phoṭus (G 763)
he fell descending, and forehead broke-his
'He fell down and broke his crown'

In Kashmiri *ti* is also used as the main clause counterpart of *harga:h*, *agar yodivay* and cliticized *-ay*, all meaning '*if*'. In this function *ti* competes with *teli* 'then'. But while *teli* always counts as a sentence constituent for finite verb placement, *ti*, perhaps because of its other role as co-ordinating conjunction[6], does not (contrast (k) and (l)):

k yod*i*vay ts*i* əz -ik-is ḍa:k-as khath tra:vakh, teli gatshi vun'
if you today-'s-DAT mail-DAT letter will-send, then goes now
ḍa:k-gar*i* so:z-un (G 1357)
Post-office send-INF
'If you want to send the letter by today's post, you'd better get it to the post office now'

l yod*i*vay me brõ:ṭh a:s-ihe por -mut t*i* az ta:n' a:s-*i*hə:
if I (ERG) before hnd-CTF study-PP then today by had-CTF
b*i* boḍ ə:lim sapud -mut (G 1357)
I very learned become-PP

'Had I studied before, I would have become highly educated by now.'

In Kashmiri a relative clause plus its head counts as a single constituent. However, if the clause is separated from its head, it becomes invisible as far as finite verb placement is concerned. Contrast (m) and (n) :

m yi b*i* van-a:n chus, ti chu-kh -a: ts*i* pasand kara:n (G 95)
what I say-ing am, that are-2SG-QM you pleased making
'Do you like what I am saying ?'

n yi b*i* vana:n chus, ts*i* chu-kh -a: ti ma:na:n kin*i* nə (G 13)
what I saying am, you are-2SG-QM that agreeing or not
'Do you agree to what I say or not ?'

In similar fashion, if the head of a relative clause is deleted, the finite verb again comes third (contrast (o) with (p) and (q) with (r)):

o yi ts*i* vana:n chukh, poz ch-a: (G 1611)
what you saying are, true is-QM
'Is what you're saying true?'

p yi ts*i* vana:n chukh, ti ch-a: poz
what you saying are, that is-QM true
'Is what you're saying true?'

q yi su me vana:n chu, tse peyi -y tarjam*i* kar-un (G 981)
what he me saying is, you(DAT) falls-2SG translate do -INF
'You'll have to translate what he's saying to me'

r yi su me vana:n chu, ti peyi -y tse tarjam*i* kar-un
what he me saying is, that falls-2 you(DAT) translate do-INF
'You'll have to translate what he's saying to me'

These data suggest that intonation plays a role in finite verb placement, too. The verb-second rule operates within a domain that is defined by the kind of phrasal boundaries associated with comma-intonations, or pauses. Anything before the comma does not count in the placement of the finite verb, even if such previous material includes constituents with which the verb is in construction. Two examples:

s ša:l, yi laba:n chu, tsu:ri chu ti niva:n (G 1713
jackal, what getting is, robbery(DAT) is that taking
'The jackal steals whatever he can get'

t harga:h ts*i* pritshakh, teli, yi ts*i* za:na:n a:sakh -n*i*, ti
if you ask(FUT), then, what you knowing be (FUT)-not,
that
hech*i*na:vi-y tse (G 677)
teach (FUT)-2SG you(DAT)

'If you ask, then, whatever you don't understand, he'll
explain to you'

While this constitutes further evidence in support of Hook (1976), that finite verb placement in Kashmiri is a "late" or low-level rule, it is also true that to avoid circularity, further discussion of word order in Kashmiri will require careful attention to be paid to intonation and other phonological features that usually escape the representational nets of writing systems and broad transcriptions (such as Grierson's). On the other hand, an accentually based explanation of word order in Kashmiri has many parallels both in general typology (Kaisse 1981), and in the history of Indo-European (Wackernagel 1953:95)[7]. Furthermore, there is a similar rule for the encliticization of particles of tense and mood onto the first stressed element of the clause in one of Kashmiri's neighbours; namely, Pashto. Even if all of this seems "bien théorique" to some students of the languages of the Hindu Kush (Fussman 1980), it seems equally clear that these are indications that must be pursued wherever they lead[8] if we are to understand how it is that Kashmiri word order is so different from that of its sister languages in the Indo-Aryan family.

FOOTNOTES

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1. In Kashmiri the "verb rarely comes at the end of a sentence but usually occupies the same place as in English." Grierson 1968, vol. 8, part 2, p. 316.

2. In other Indian languages "the subject comes first, then the object or predicate, and last of all the Verb ; but, in Kashmiri the Verb precedes the predicate, as in Persian." Grierson as quoted by Kachru (1969:6).

3. Kashmiri is listed as a VO language in Masica (1976:39).

4. Abbreviations used in the morph-by-morphs are as follows :

   CTF..counter-to-fact
   DAT......dative
   ERG......ergative
   FUT......future
   INF......infinitive
   JUSS......jussive
   M......masculine
   POSS...possessive
   QM......question marker
   SG......singular
   2......second person
   3......third person

   The numbers in parentheses refer to the sample sentences in Grierson 1911, vol. 2

   1. The transcription has been modernized and some obsolescent vocabulary items have been replaced with contemporary equivalents. Punctuation has been altered to accord with Omkar N. Koul's pronunction in one or two example sentences.

5. The equivalent of sentence (g) in German has the finite verb at the end of the embedded clause : Er erhielt eine Vorladung, dass er morgen vor Gericht zu erscheinen *hat*.

6. The particle *ti* ‘and’ also occurs pleonastically with the conjunctive participle in some of Grierson’s sample sentences :

a guri -p’aṭh -*i* vəsith p’aṭh *ti* mu:d su (G 695)
horse-on -from descending falling and died he
‘He fell from his horse and died.’

Again perhaps because of its function as a co-ordinating conjunction, there is a tendency for whatever is to *ti’s* left not to be counted by the V-2 rule even if this has the effect of making the finite verbal element third:

b na:rji:l phuṭ*i*rith *ti* tam’uk dɔd c’av
coconut having-broken and its milk gave-to-drink
təm’ *ti* təm’s*i*nd’ do:stan
he (ERG) and his friend (ERG)

‘Having split the coconut his friend and himself drank the milk’ (G 1699)

However, neither (a) or (b) is acceptable to O.N. Koul. (Another example like (b) is to be found in G 562.)

7. “Und weiterhin müssen wir auf Grund des früher Vorgetragenen erwarten, dass in der Grundsprache das Verbum des Hauptsatzes, weil und insofern es enklitisch war, unmittelbar hinter das erste Wort des Satzes gestellt worden sei.”

8. Another, perhaps related, phenomenon deserving further investigation, is the noticeable devoicing of certain vowels in the finite verbal element :

toh’ k’a: -chi̥v kara:n “What are you doing ?”
you what-are doing

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Modes of Address in Kashmiri

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1.0 Introduction

In general, modes of address in Kashmiri may be correlated with the social status of the addressee and interpersonal and familial relationships between the addressee and addresser. Modes of address may consist of different types of interjections, first names, diminutive first names, surnames, kinship terms, terms associated with professions, second person pronouns etc. In this paper we will briefly discuss the usage of these modes of address from a sociolinguistic point of view.

A proper understanding of the socio-cultural patterns of the society and people who use these modes of address is important. The native speakers of Kashmiri belong to two main religious communities--Hindus and Muslims—the latter community being in the majority. There are some variations on the phonological, morphological and lexical levels between the speech of these two communities which are important from a sociolinguistic point of view. There is no caste system prevalent among either of the two communities. There are of course certain professional groups among each community. Hindus (all

Brahmins) are divided into two groups—priests and non-priests. The priests (who are in the minority) perform all the rites and rituals and act as priests in Hindu temples and places of worship. On the basis of certain professions some minority groups of lower social status among Hindus are those of *Buhuris* and persons engaged in odd jobs : cook, baker etc. The majority of Hindus consider such persons lower in status and do not normally enter into inter group wedlocks. Those who neither belong to the priest group nor to the lower professional groups of odd jobs-men enjoy higher social status among the Hindus. The modes of address used for the priest group are always honorific and they are different from those used for the lower professional groups.

Muslims are also divided on the basis of professional groups. Social status is generally determined by economic, educational and professional factors. Among muslims, *Pirs*—the group of priests, which is a minority, perform rites and rituals for all Muslims and are respected at social and religious ceremonies. The community is divided into different professional groups : agriculturists, businessmen, employees, labourers and hereditary professions. Most of the jobs of professional nature, like those of butcher, carpenter, barber, goldsmith, mason and cobbler are hereditary. Only a very low percentage of people not belonging to hereditary professional families take up these jobs. Both the financial prospects and social status of some of the above professions like that of mason, carpenter, goldsmith and blacksmith occasionally attract some persons to take up one of the above professions even though it is not traditionally in their family.

In modern society, current economic position, nature of profession, age, sex, and education etc., play an important role in determining social status. With the spread of education and the tremendous change in the standard of living, old superstitions and values are fast changing. The traditional values are becoming less important day by day under the influence of currently predominant factors for assigning social status. It is easy to find people who belong to the lower class by family background and profession but have attained higher social status, shattering the barriers of old values and ideas.

Thus it is important to keep in view the social structure of the native speakers of Kashmiri, of both communities, Hindus and Muslims, divided into different classes on the basis of their family background and professions. Modes of address are correlated with the social structure of the people who interact. The inter-relationships, familial or kinship relations and considerations of social status must be taken into account while studying the subject.

2.0 Types of modes of address

Modes of address include interjections, first names, diminutive first names, surnames, terms associated with professions, kinship terms and second person pronouns of address. In this section the main types of forms of address are briefly described.

2.1 Interjections of address

Roughly corresponding to the English interpetation 'Hey' or the Hindi-Urdu *are!*, different types of interjections are used in Kashmiri to attract attention. These can broadly be classified into two types : non-honorific and honorific or polite. They agree with addressee in number and gender.

2.1.1. *Non honorific*

Masculine		*Feminine*	
Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
a) haya:/ hayo:	hayo:	haye:	haye:
b) hə:v	hə:v	hə:y	hə:y
c) hata:/ hato:	hato:	hatay	hatay
d) hatav	hatav	hatay	hatay
e) tala:v	talav	talay	talay
f) talav	talav	talay	talay
g) hat*i*ba:	hat*i*ba:	hatibi:	hat*i*bi:
h) tal*i*ba:	tal*i*ba:	talibi:	tal*i*bi;

Note that (a), (c) and (e) are used mostly by the native speakers of Kashmiri who belong to Srinagar and Baramulla Districts. The forms of (b), (d) and (f) are used by the native speakers of Kashmiri who belong to the Districts of Anantnag and Pulwama. The forms of (g) and (h) are used by all the speakers. Besides being a form of address, (g) is also used in the meaning of 'take' as well.

These terms may optionally be followed by the diminutive first names of the addresses. e.g.,

haya:/hayo:/hə:v mohna:	'Hey, Mohan'
hata:/hə:y/hatav rəhma:na:	'Hey, Rahman'
haya:/hə:y/hatay shi:lay	'Hey Shiela'

2.1.2. *Honorific*

The honorific or polite forms of interjections of address are used in formal relationsips and for showing respect for the addressee. The singular and plural forms of honorific or polite forms are same:

he:
hasə:
hat*i*sə:
tal*i*sə:
hat*i*haz
tal*i*haz
hat*i*ma:hra:
tal*i*ma:hra:
hat*i*jina:b
tal*i*jina:b

These interjections may optionally be followed by first names, last names or professional titles of the addressee with honorific terms like *ji:* or *səb:*. e. g.

ha:/hasə:/hatisə: mohan ji	'Hey' Mr. Mohan'
he:/hət*i*haz/talihaz ḍa:r sə:b	'Hey, Mr. Dar'
he:/hat*i*ma:hra:/tal*i*ma:hra: re:na:se:b	'Hey, Mr. Raina'
hat*i*jina:b/tal*i*jina:b ḍa:r/rə:na: sə:b	'Hay, Mr. Dar/Raina'

It is to be noted that *hasə:/hatisə*: and *talisə:* are used in informal relations as well. They are used while addressing spouses, youngsters and juniors as well for showing affection and intimacy. *hatihaz* or haz is used for addressing Muslims and *hatima:hra*: or *ma:hra*: for addresing Hindus. *hatijina:b* or *jina:b* may be used for addressing Hindus as well as

Muslims. Honorific terms like *ji:* or *sə:b* are also added to the full names, first names or first plus middle names of persons. *ji:* is mostly used with Hindu names and *sə:b* with Muslim names. e.g.,

he: mohan ji:	'Mr. Mohan'
rame:š kuma:r ji:	'Mr. Ramesh Kumar'
mohan la:l ji:	'Mr. Mohan Lal'
mohan la:l ganju/ ji:	'Mr. Mohan Lal Ganju'
rəhma:n sə:b	'Mr. Rahman'
rəhma:n ḍa:r sə:b	'Mr. Rahman Dar'

Whereas *ji:* is always used with the professional title *ma:-sṭar* 'teacher', *sə:b* is used with the professional titles or surnames of both communities. e. g.,

ma:sṭar ji:	'Teacher'
ḍa:kṭar sə:b	'Doctor'
vəki:l sə:b	'Lawyer'
ra:zda:n sə:b	'Mr. Razdan (a Hindu surname)
lo:n sə:b	'Mr. Lone (a Muslim surname)

ji: and *sə:b* are used by elders with the first names or kinship terms of youngsters as well for showing affection. The term *sə:b* may also be added to the imperative forms of verbs as well. e.g.,

(a) karsə: pan*i*n' kə:m
Do—HON own work
'Please do your work'

(b) me disə: kita:b
to—me give—HON (the) book
'Please give me the book'

The terms *haz* 'sir' and *ma:hra:* 'sir' are used for addressing Muslims and Hindus respectively. The term *jina:b* 'sir' is used for addressing both Hindus and Muslims. These terms normally follow the subject noun or pronoun e.g.,

(c) b*i* haz/ma:hra:/jina:b gatsh*i* gar*i*
I sir will go home
'Sir, I will go home'

They may also be used with the imperative forms of verbs. e.g.,

(d) gətshiv haz gar*i*
go-HON sir to-home
'Please go home'

(e) diyiv haz ma:hra: /jina:b kita:b
give-HON sir (the) book
'Please give the book'

The choice in the use of modes of address necessarily depends on various types of inter-personal relationships among the people. The context of situation and various emotional factors play a prominent role in the choice of modes of address. The topic or subject of discourse, particular occasion, age, sex, social status and dyadic relations of the participants are important factors which determine the particular choice of the mode of address. The usage of modes of address cannot be studied in isolation from these factors.

2.2. **Kinship terms of address**

A number of terms of address are formed from kinship terms. These terms of address are formed by adding some honorific terms to the kinship terms. The vocative case suffix *-a:* for masculine singular, *-i* for feminine singular and *-av* for plural are added to these compound terms when used as modes of address. In the examples given below different honorific terms as case suffixes are added to the kinship term *bo:y* 'brother' changing it into a terms of address. e.g.,

bo:y + ṭo:ṭh = bə:yṭo:ṭh + a: = bə:yṭa:ṭh'a
bo:y + sə:b = bə:ysə:b + a: = bə:ysə:ba:
bo:y + ji: = bə:yji: + a: = bə:yjiya:
bo:y + la:l = bə:yla:l + a: = be:yla:la:
bo:y + ja:n = bə:yja:n + a: = be:yja:na:
bo:y + ra:ji = bə:yra:ji + a: = bə:yra:ja:
bo:y + ga:sh = bə:yga:š + a: = bə:yga:ša:
bo:y + jigur = bə:yjigur + a: = bə:yjigra:

Note that whereas all the basic honorific terms added to the kinship term 'bo:y' above stand for the meaning 'dear' or 'dear one' some of them have different literal meanings. They are: *la:l* 'ruby' *ja:n* 'good,' ra:j*i* 'king', *ga:š* 'light', *jigar* 'liver'. The terms *ji:* and sə:b '*sa:hib*' are from Hindi-Urdu.

These terms of address are used not only for an elder brother, but may be used for cousins, uncles or other elder males for whom respect is intended. Similarly, a number of honorific terms and vocative case suffix *-i:* are added to *beni* 'sister' while forming terms of address. e.g.,

beni + ṭə:ṭh = beniṭə:ṭh + i: = beniṭə:ṭhi:

beni + gə:š = benigə:š + i: = benigə:ši:

beni + d'ad = benid'ad + i: = benid'adi:

beni + jig*i*r = benijig*i*r + i: = benijigiri:

beni + ji: = ben'ji: + i: = ben'jiyi:

These terms are not used only for elder sister but for other relations of cousins, aunts, or elderly women for whom respect in intended.

Similarly, a number of terms of address are used independently for elder kinsmen, distant relations and persons for whom respect or affection is intended. Terms of address used for male addressees like *bab*, *la:li* (sə:b), ṭa:ṭhi (*sə:b*), *ka:kh*, *ga:ši*, *ṭo:ṭh*, *bo:bji:* may be used for father, grandfather, uncle, elder brother, elder cousin or for any person for whom respect or affection is intended. Similarly, some terms of address used for females like *d'ad*, *jigir*, *ba:bi:*, *ṭə:ṭh*, *ṭə:ṭhi:*, *ka:kan' di:di:* etc., may be used for elder kinsmen or distant relations, or for persons for whom respect or affection is intended. These terms of address are used in a liberal sense. These terms are used not only for kinsmen or distant relations, but for unrelated persons to show respect or affection.

2.3. Second person pronouns of address

There are two main types of second person pronouns of address: singular and plural. Singular honorific and plural (both honorific as well as non-honorific) forms are the same. e.g.

	Singular		*Plural*	
Case	*Non-honorific*	*Honorific*	*Honorific/non-honorific*	
Nominative	tsi	toh’	toh’	‘you’
Objective	tse	tɔhi	tɔhi	

In the possessive case, there is gender and number concord with the head of the nominal group or object. e.g.,

Subject	*Object*			
	Masculine		*Feminine*	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
A. 2nd Person Singular Non-honorific	co:n	cə:n’	cə:n’	ca:ni
B. 2nd person Plural or singular Honorific	tuhund	tuh*i*nd’	tuh*i*nz	tuh*inzi*

Examples:

co:n kalam	‘your pen’	cə:n’ kalam	‘your pens’
cə:n’ gər	‘your watch’	ca:ni gari	your watches’
tuhund me:z	‘your table’	tuh*i*nd’ me:z	‘your tables’
tuh*i*nz kursi:	‘your chair’	tuh*inzi* kursiyi	‘your chairs’

The non-honorific singular forms of pronouns are generally used in informal situations to address very close friends, youngsters, spouses and people of lower social status. Sometimes these forms of address are used for addressing elders as well as those for whom respect is intended, particularly female members of one’s family—mother, sister etc. in informal situations. The honorific forms of address are used for addressing elders and people of higher social status. These terms are used for addressing close friends, youngsters and spouses as well in formal situations or for showing extra love, affection or being sarcastic in certain situations.

The usage of modes of address should therefore, be studied keeping in view the contextual situation and dyadic relations between the addresser and addressee.

3.0. Dyadic relations

There are three main dyadic relations:
(a) Social, (b) Professional and (c) Familial.

3.1. Social dyadic relations

Social dyadic relations are the result of the meeting between two strangers or friends. Individuals in a given society play different types of roles when they come in contact with each other. The socio-cultural, economic and religious patterns of a given society bring individuals and families close to each other. These contacts result in free interaction and the development of interpersonal relationships between individuals. The interpersonal relationships between teacher-student, master-servant, friends, and strangers etc., determine the usage of modes of address under this category. e.g.,

Teacher—student : 1. ts*i* kar yi kə:m
you-NH do this work
'you do this work'

Student—teacher : 2. b*i* ma:hra: kar*i* yi kə:m
I (HON) do-will this work
'I will do this work'

Master—servant : 3. (hayo:) rəhma:na: ba:zr*i* an dɔd
(Hey) Rahman market-from bring milk
'Rahman, bring milk from the market'

Servant—master : 4. me diyiv haz (toh') pə^{n}:s*i*
to-me give HON (you) money
'Please give me money'

In the examples given above, a teacher uses non-honorific second person pronoun of address for his student and receives honorific terms of address in return. Also the master uses non-honorific term of address for his servant and receives honorific address in return. In some situations the teacher as well as master may use honorific terms/pronouns of address for a student and servant respectively to show affection or appreciation. e.g.,

Teacher—student : 5. behsə: pathar
sit-HON down
'Please sit down'

6. kə:m kəriv
work do-(HON)
'Please do your work'

Master—servant : 7. palav tshunsə: nəv'
clothes put on (HON) new
'Please put on (your) new clothes'

The teacher as well as the master while in anger may use the same honorific form of address for addressing a student or servant respectively. Here the usage of such forms is sarcastic and reflects the anger of the addresser. e.g.,

8. toh' kəriv panin' kə:m
you (HON) do-HON your-own work
'Please do your own work'

9. toh' mə hechinə:viv me
you-HON don't teach-CAUS to-me
'Please do not teach me'

The usage of modes of address amongst friends varies according to age, sex and context. Normally intimate friends (of either sex) address each other with non-honorific terms of address, but on certain formal occasions in the presence of others they may use honorific forms. Friends when young normally use non-honorific forms of address and switch over to formal ones as they grow older. Strangers of an equal social status normally use honorific forms of address in addressing each other. The addresser may use non-honorific forms of address as well, if he is aware that the addressee belongs to a lower social status and will receive honorific forms of address in return.

3.2. *Professional dyadic relations*

Professional dyadic relations develop in different ways. Interaction between people belonging to same or different professions is very common. Sometimes, professional and social dyadic relations are merged together. Under the category of professional dyadic relations, we may study the interactions which take place between official and a non-official, a shopkeeper and a customer, a doctor and a patient, the contractor and a labourer etc.

Two officials who belong to the same rank or status address each other by first plus second names or by surnames plus honorific terms like *ji: sə:b*, e.g.,

sohan la:l ji:	'Mr. Sohan Lal'
rə:na: ji:	'Mr. Raina'
dar sə:b	'Mr. Dar'
shah sə:b	'Mr. Shah'
ayu:b pare: sə:b	'Mr. Ayub Parey'

The names may optionally be preceded by appropriate honorific interjections of address.

The modes of address used among officials and non-officials in their conversations may be of different kinds, depending on social status or position of the participants. A non-official usually addresses an official with honorific modes of address. He may also receive formal or non-honorific terms or pronouns of address, depending on his position or terms of reference. e.g.,

Non-official—
official :

10. toh' kəriv haz/ma:hra: me
you-HON do-HON HON me
p'aṭh meharbə:ni:
on kindness
'Please favour me with your kindness'

11. tɔhi jina:b k'a: gatshi
to-you-HON HON what want
'What would you like to have?'

12. tɔhi k'a: haz na:v
to-you-HON what HON name
'What is your name ? '

Official—
non-official :

13. toh' m*i* bəriv parva:y
you-HON do not feel worry
b*i* kar*i* tuh*i*nz kə:m
'I will-do your work'

'Please don't worry, I will do
your work'.

14. ts*i* mə kar me pare:ša:n
you-NH don't do to-me perturb
'Don't perturb me'

15. (toh') gətshiv tshə^{n}:ḍiv yinsa:ph
(you-HON) go-HON look for justice
'Please go (and) seek justice'

A patient and a doctor, or a client and a lawyer who are involved in conversations may also use different types of modes of address: the relationship being of the professional type. A patient and a client will always use honorific forms of address in addressing a doctor, and lawyer respectively. They may receive honorific or non-honorific forms of address in return depending on their social status. e.g.,

Patient—doctor : 16. ḍa:kṭar sə:b me(jina:b chu kalas do:d
doctor-HON to-me (HON) is headache
'Doctor, I have a headache'

17. toh' diytav haz/ma:hara: me dava:
you giv-HON to-me medicine
'Please give me medicine'

18. b*i* kətsi laṭi haz/ma:hara: khem*i*
I how many times HON will-eat
dava: dəhas
medicine day-LOC
'How many times should I take medicine in a day?'

Doctor—patient : 19. yi rəṭiv dava:
this take-HON medicine
'Please take this medicine'

20. ba:zr*i* əniv dava:
market bring-HON medicine
'Please bring medicine from the market'

21. tse kh'o:tha: kā:h dava:
you-NH ate-you any medicine
'Have you taken any medicine?'

Client—lawyer : 22. (toh') li:khiv haz/ma:hara:darkha:s
(you-HON) write HON application
'Please write the application'

23. b*i* jina:b dimo:vi sə:riy pə^{n}:si
I HON will-give-you- whole money
'I will give you the whole amount of money'

24. toh' kəriv haz/ma:hara:meharbə:ni:
you-HON do-HON kindness
'Please be kind'

Lawyer—client : 25. toh' trə:viv yi kath me p'aṭh
you-HON leave this matter me on
'You leave this matter for me'

26. ts*i* d*i* me tayə:ri karn*i*
you-NH give me preparation to-do
'You let me prepare myself (for it)'

27. tse chuy pa:n*i* ada:ltas
to you-NH have self court-LOC
manz hə:zir gatshun
in attend to go
'You will have to attend the court in person'

3.3 *Familial dyadic relations*

The term 'family' in Kashmiri society is used in a liberal sense. It actually represents a net-work of related families on both paternal and maternal sides. The use of modes of address in this category depends purely on the type of relationship and age of the participants. The dyadic relational sets of father-son, father-daughter, mother-son, mother-daughter brother-brother, brother-sister, sister-sister and husband-wife are basic ones.

The kinship relations on both the paternal and maternal sides are considered at par. Also, in the forms of address, the distinction between true siblings and cousins is not maintained. Furthermore, father, father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles are of the some status : mother, mother-in-law, maternal and paternal aunts are of the same status; elder brother, brother-in-law are of an equal category; elder sister or sister-in-law are of an equal category; son and son-in-law, daughter and daughter-in-law belong to the same kinship status. Here will give examples of some of the above familial dyadic relations :

Father-son

Normally, the father addresses his son by the first name or first plus middle name or by a diminutive first name or nickname (known as family pet name as well. The father uses the non-honorific pronominal form to address him, e.g.

28. mohna:/mohan la:la:/mohan jia:
Mohan/Mohan lal/ mohan ji
ba:zr*i* an sabzi:
market from bring vegetables
'Mohan/Mohan Lal/ Mohan ji bring vegetables from the market'

29. ts*i* chukhna: bo:za:n?
you-NH are not listening
'Aren't you listening?'

In these examples, the father may use Mohan (first name), Mohon Lal (first plus middle name) or Mohan ji (diminutive first name or family pet name) for his son.

In some situations the father may use an honorific form of address for his son. If his son is grown up and has attained higher social status or position, and while addressing him in the presence of others (his son's colleagues, friends etc.), the father is likely to use honorific forms of address. Sometimes the use of honorific forms of address denotes the father's being ironical or sarcastic. e.g.,

30. toh' chiv bəḍ' məhniv bane:mit'
you-HON have great man become
'You have become a great man'

31. ahansə: ṭa:ṭh'a:mey hechina:v
yes-HON dear one, to-me teach-CAUS
'Yes, dear, you will teach me'

The son always addresses his father by the particular pet mode of address used for him in his family. The common modes of address are *ṭa:ṭhi*, *ṭa:ṭh'a: ji*, *bo:b ji·*, *la:li sə:b*, *bab*, *ga:ši ga:ša: ji : pa:pa : ji :* , *pita: ji:* etc. In the higher society the son always uses honorific pronouns of address for addressing his father. e.g.

52. bo:bji:me diyiv (ma:hara) pə:s*i*
babuji to-me give- HON money
'Babu ji, please give me money'

As pointed out above whereas a son-in-law has the same kinship status as the son in the family, the relationship is of formal type in the beginning and the use of reciprocal honorific modes of address including honorific pronominal forms is very common. With the development of intimacy the father-in-law may use less formal modes of address for his son-in-law including non honorific pronominal forms.

Father-Daughter

A father normally addresses his daughter by her first name or diminutive first name or nickname (known as family pet name as well) . He may add the suffix *ji:* etc. with her first name after she is married or in the presence of others for showing deep affection. e.g.

33. kã:tay ts*i* vo:n bəniya:n
Kanta you knit pullover
'Kanta you knit a pullover'

34. kã:t*i*ṭə:ṭhi me:n' kəmi:z an
Kanta-dear mine shirt bring
'Kanta, bring my shirt'

35. babli:yi kita:b ni
Babli this book take
'Babli, take this book'

In the above examples, the first name is used in sentence 33, *ṭə:ṭh* 'dear' is added in sentence 34, and in sentence 35 *babli:* a nickname (family pet name) is used instead. The daughter, like the son, always uses a particular mode of address for him which is common in her family and also uses honorific pronominal forms. e.g.,

36. bo:bji: toh' kheyiv bat*i*
Babuji you-HON eat meals
'Babuji, please eat your meals'

The father-in-law addresses his daughter-in-law with the family pet name given to her by her in-laws (like *p'a:ri:*, *ṭə:ṭhi:*, *ra:ni:* etc.) or by her first name with suffix *ji:*etc. Very rarely does he use honorific pronominal forms for her. Normally he uses non-honorific pronominal forms of address. The daughter-in-law in return always uses kinship terms of address or the particular family pet mode of address for him as used by her husband in addressing his father. She also uses honorific pronominal forms, e.g.,

37. p'ą:ri:, ca:y bana:v
Pyari: tea prepare
'Pyari, prepare tea'

38. ra:ni: tsi chalun yi dəj
Rani you-NH to wash this hand- kerchief
'Rani, wash this handkerchief'

39. bo:bji: toh' kheyiv ma:har: bat*i*
Babuji you-HON eat-HON HON meals
'Babuji, please take meals'

40. la:li sə:b, bi gatshihə: ba:zar
Lala Saheb I will-go-COND market
'Lala Saheb, I would like to go to market'

In some families, a daughter-in-law in the beginning does not talk with her father-in-law and only gradually starts conversation with him.

Mother-son/daughter

Mother always uses first name or diminutive first name or the nickname (or family pet name) when addressing her son or daughter. She also uses non-honorific pronominal forms for addressing a son/daughter. e.g. ,

41. ra:mji:/bo:ba:me k'uthənizi sha:l
Ramji/Babu me for bring-shawl
'Ramji/Babu, bring a shawl for me'

42. shi:lay/ tə:thi: gar*i*c kə:m kar
Shiela/Tathi (dear one) of home work do
Shiela/ Tathi do your home work'

A son/daughter addresses his/her mother by the particular mode of address used for mother in the family like, *ka:kan' ba:bi: jigir*, *məmi:* etc. A son/daughter normally uses familiar or non-honorific pronominal forms to address his /her mother, and rarely uses honorific pronominal forms even in formal situations. Partiticular terms of address used in the family.

Brother—brother/sister

The elder brother usually addresses his younger brother or sister by his or her first name or by the first name plus suffixes *ji:* or *sə:b* indicating affection or by the nick name (or family pet name). These terms of address are same as used by the parents in the family to address youngsters. The elder brother also uses non-nonorific pronominal forms of address. The younger brothers or the sisters always use a particular term of address for their elder brothers such as *bə:ysə:b*, *bə:yra:j*, *bə:yṭo:ṭh*, *ṭa:ṭhi* etc. and use honorific pronominal forms of address. In case, the age difference between the elder and younger brother is not much, they may address each other by their first names at the young age and use reciprocal non-honorific pronominal forms of address. As they grow in age, the younger brother/sister switches to the honorific modes of address. The elder brother may also use honorific form of address for his younger brother in some formal situations. This kind of switchover may not occur in the families of lower social status. Some examples are given below:

43. rəhma:na:/bo:ba: az chuya: ka:le:j gatshun?
Rahman/Babo to-day have-to college to go
'Rahman/Babu, do you have to go to college today?

44. ra:jay/sə:bay ts*i* kar a:ykah səku:l*i*
Raj /Saba you-NH when came from-school
'Raj/Saba when did you come from school?'

Sister-sister/brother

Elder sister uses the same modes of address for her younger sister or brother as are used by other elder (including parents) in the family for them. In return she receives honorific modes of address from her younger brother or sister. Normally any of the following terms of address : *beniji:*, *benigə:* š. *benijigir*, *ṭə:ṭhi:*; *di:di:* etc. is used for addressing elder sister in a particular family. The younger sister or brother addresses the elder sister by honorific pronominal forms very rarely, or in formal situations only. Normally non-honorific pronominal forms of address are used. Some examples of the usage of these modes of address are are given as under:

47. di:di: me diti panin' kũz
Didi to-me give your key
'Didi' give me your key'

48. bo:ba:tse chaya: nəv dəj
Boba to-you have new handkerchief
'Boba, do you have a new handkerchief ?'

Husband-wife

There are no formal modes of address used by the husband for his wife or by the wife for her husband. In upper class society, couples belonging to older generation do not use the family pet names for addressing each other. In the younger generation, the man addresses his wife by her first name, but wife very rarely uses the name of the husband directly. She may use his surname or other professional titles with honorific suffixes like *-dar sə:b* 'Mr. Dar', *ḍakṭar sə:b*, *vəki:l sə:b* etc. A reciprocal non-honoriffc pronominal form of address is used by the couple normally. Only in some formal situations the wife may use honorific pronominal forms of address for her husband. The husband very rarely uses the formal honorific pronominal form of address.

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The Editors

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